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Note: L'image dans la première couverture représente le bâtiment de l'Institut d'Anthropologie « Francisc Rainer », tel qu'il a été construit et inauguré (le 20 Juin 1940), en tant qu'une institution entièrement dédiée à la recherche anthropologique en Roumanie (Bd. Eroii Sanitari 8, Bucarest).

Notice: The main cover image represents the building of Francisc Rainer Institute of Anthropology, as it was built and inaugurated (on the 20th of June, 1940) *qua* an institution entirely dedicated to the anthropological research in Romania (8 Eroii Sanitari Ed., Bucharest).

THE IMPORTANCE OF FAMILIAL FOOD BEHAVIOR ANALYSIS FOR ASD CHILDREN WITH EATING DISORDERS: CASE STUDY

LACRAMIOARA PETRE¹, MARIA CRISTINA NEDELICU

Abstract. According to the DSM 5, the autism spectrum disorders (ASD) are characterized by the impairment of two significant behavioral areas: communication and social interaction and the existence of a series of restrictive and repetitive behaviors. The aim of this paper is to describe the eating disorders of a child diagnosed with ASD, and the interventions used to improve eating behaviors and the results obtained after one year and six months of intervention.

Keywords: autism, eating disorders, eating behaviors, family intervention.

INTRODUCTION

Autism is a complex developmental disorder, in which several risk factors are involved (Chaste et al. 2012) and is presented as a diversity of symptoms and combinations. According to the DSM 5 definition, this disorder is characterized by the impairment of two major behavioral areas: communication and social interaction and the presence of a series of restrictive and repetitive behaviors (Sung 2015).

The global incidence of this condition is progressively increasing, the percentage rising at such a great pace and in different populations that the medical world is talking about an epidemic. In the UK, in 1997 a prevalence of 7.2/1000 children between the age of 3 and 15 was estimated, while 9 years later, in 2006, the prevalence in a study conducted on children of ages between 0 and 15 was of 44.4/10000 (Elsabbagh et al. 2012). In 2014, in the USA, the CDC announced a prevalence of 1/68 children of ages up to 13 (McCarthy 2014).

One of the less studied affected areas which requires complex interventions, which can have a long-term serious impact on health, is eating. Eating disorders in the autistic child are fairly frequent, one study by Williams et al. (Williams et al. 2000) on ASD children between 22 months and 10 years old showing that 67% of

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parents stated their children have a high food selection. Over-selection, the refusal to eat, problems swallowing or chewing the foods (Kadey et al. 2013), vomiting and oral insensitivity (lack of oral sensitivity) are the most often seen eating problems in ASD children. Most explanations for these eating habits are attributed to sensory hyper-sensitivity and the refusal to try new things, extremely common in autistic children. However, certain studies show that 34% of the difficult eating behaviors and their low nutritional value are explained by a very permissive attitude of the parents towards the culinary claims of the children and the high degree of willingness to prepare the favorite meal of the child, separately from the rest of the family (Seiverling et al. 2011).

The aim of this paper is to describe the behavioral disorders of a child diagnosed with ASD, the interventions conducted in order to improve eating behaviors and the results obtained.

MATERIAL AND METHODS

The case study for this paper is that of a six-year-old child, Tudor, diagnosed with ASD at the age of three. He had a severe eating disorder, with a refusal to eat, the fear of trying any new food, excessive food selection with a preference for certain specific foods manifested as taste, packaging, texture and presentation, disruptive behaviors and vomiting. Practically, he only accepted five specific foods, liquid Actimel yogurt taken only by straw, Lays chips with salt, Chio sticks with salt, generic crackers and Barney cocoa cakes.

From a psychological standpoint, in order to assess the developmental level and confirm an ASD diagnostic, specific tests were used, by a licensed psychologist: Autism Disorder Observation Schedule (ADOS) (Catherine Lord, Michael Rutter, Pamela DiLavore, Susan Risi, Autism Disorder Observation Schedule, 2002) and Adaptive Behavior Assessment System II (ABAS II) (Patti Harisson, Thomas Oakland, Adaptive Behavior Assessment System II, 2012).

From an anthropological standpoint, eating is a biological and cultural act at the same time, the eating habits of a person reflecting family or even community habits. That is why, the eating analysis was conducted through an open interview (the mother was interviewed), but also through direct observation in the family environment, focusing on behaviors correlated with eating. The mealtime behaviors, the permissiveness of the parents to the claims of the children and of the child with autism in particular, the types of food used in the family for the entire family, the period of time elapsed between the inadequate behavior of Tudor and the response of the parents and the specificity of the place where the family and each child ate were all observed.

Also, food acceptance tests were conducted in order to analyze the existence and types of visual, taste, texture, packaging, presentation, color and form sensitivity.

Based on the observations of the psychologist and the eating behavior specialist, the needed interventions were established, implemented by the therapist in 1:1 sessions, by the mother during mealtime and by the eating behavior specialist in group sessions. The intervention is ongoing, the results presented in this paper being an evaluation after a period of one year and a half.

SETTING BEHAVIORAL INTERVENTIONS

From a psychological standpoint Tudor has an atypical development associated with a medium psychological and language development delay, confirmed through specific development tests.

At the ABAS II test (Adaptative Behavior Assessment System, Second Edition), he obtained a global score of 55 points. He obtained the lowest scores in the areas "Communication", "School functional skills", "Home life", "Self-care" and "Social skills", where he obtained a scaled score of 1. In the area "Use of community resources" he obtained a score of 2. In the areas "Free time" and "Self-direction" he obtained a scaled score of 4. The highest score was obtained in the "Health and safety" scale, with a score of 7. From an adaptive standpoint, Tudor can handle certain situations but requires constant supervision.

Speech exercises were recommended as part of the therapeutic program for improving pronunciation and developing communication. Also, Tudor requires especially adapted programs in order to make cognitive progress, as there is a discrepancy between his chronological age and his mental development. He receives a recommendation to be integrated in socialization groups alongside children who are the same age and to participate in various activities, events, birthday parties in order to achieve a lower anxiety level towards unknown activities, places, people and events.

The ASD diagnostic was confirmed by the ADOS test. After covering the ten activities in Module 1 a global score of 12 points (of 24) was obtained.

The most significant assessment for Tudor's eating problems was "Snack time" which offered an opportunity to observe his food preferences, since he refused the food offered by the examiner (pretzels, cookies, juice). In order to see whether the behavior during "Snack time" is adequate, if he can eat by himself and can request more food, the mother was asked to provide preferred foods and "chips" and "crackers" were used.

In section A, Tudor obtains 4 points (of 10) in the "Communication" area. The vocabulary is limited, echoic, with an impaired pronunciation, a partially developed language, with frequent use of the others' body to communicate whenever he is not understood by the rest.

In section B, in the "Reciprocal social interaction" area, he obtained a score of 8 (of 14). Tudor does not sustain eye contact for more than 1-2 seconds, he tends to isolate himself and answers requests but does not initiate social interaction. In

section C, "Play" he obtains a score of 2 points (of 4), as the game is not adequate for his age and lacks creativity, seeming stereotypical.

In section D, "Stereotypical and restrictive behaviors", he obtains a score of 5 (of 6), with an unusual sensory interest in certain objects, textures. Tudor's interests are repetitive and he shows unusual stereotypical behaviors throughout the entire assessment session.

In section E "Other abnormal behaviors" Tudor shows a marked negative tendency, with powerful tantrums. This can also indicate the reason why the family had so much difficulty in changing the eating routine and preferences until that point.

After the confirmation of the diagnostic, the start of a behavioral intervention program to cover the deficit areas and lower the opposing behavior of Tudor was recommended both as activities and as eating patterns.

The food analysis and the sensitivity tests conducted by the research team have led to the following conclusions:

- the refusal to accept other foods reflects a fear of trying new things, a thing specific to his conditions and not a severe biological hyper-sensitivity. He chews and swallows normally, the food accepted by him had different textures (liquid, soft, crunchy), different colors and shapes, different taste (sweet, sour and salty). He accepts various forms of food presentation: on a plate, in their original packaging, in bowls of different shapes and colors, as separate foods sticks or crackers) or combined (sticks and crackers in the same packaging).

- driven by the fear that Tudor might reject the five foods he accepted at the time, the parents were highly permissive of his culinary preferences and in order to avoid disruptive behaviors (crying, screaming or vomiting), the favorite food was promptly brought upon asking, without any other alternatives. Thus, they supported over-selective behaviors and Tudor's refusal to try new things and we feel this substantially contributed to the deterioration of his behavior.

Taking into consideration all these findings, the following types of intervention were established:

1. Classical desensitization in behavioral therapy session, including the following stages: visualization, touching with the hand, smell, touching with the lips, touching with the tongue and tasting. This was conducted for five days a week for four months and afterwards, due to some changes in the therapeutic program, was carried on by the mother for another two months.

2. The change of the general mealtime behavior of the family. The mother was instructed to encourage Tudor to touch and smell various types of food, to help her lie and clear the table, to sit have the other family members around the table and not to offer immediately his favorite foods, to use different forms of food presentation (to put yogurt in a cup of glass of different colors, to use various types of straws, to encourage him to drink without a straw, to put the crackers and chips in various containers, alongside foods that Tudor does not accept etc.). Also, the other family members were instructed to offer Tudor the foods they ate, as him if he wanted to try them, without insisting. The period between the start of this

intervention and the evaluation was of one year and a half, but the frequency of its implementation was dependent on the willingness of the family and the health/illness status of its members (the techniques were stopped when Tudor was ill, in order to diminish the additional stress and to maintain his willingness to take his treatment without the occurrence of unwanted behaviors).

3. Group therapy. Tudor was included in a therapy group of children between three and ten years old, neurotypical or with ASD but without significant eating disorders, which met on average once a month and which was led by an expert on eating behaviors. The meetings of the children were thematic and included educational and fun activities and were held in different locations (at the swimming pools, at the trampoline, at a playground, at a fast food restaurant etc.) in order to become desensitized in respect to the context and location of the eating process. Food and making it were an important part of the activities. In the end, all the children and adults (parents of the children) present ate together, the children being encouraged to touch, bring, smell the foods or even to assist the meal preparation. The foods used were diverse, and Tudor was encouraged by adults and children to taste at least one new food at each meeting. Foods such as pizza, grilled steak, watermelon, sandwiches, cake, chips with flavors different than those preferred by Tudor, French fries, hot-dogs, tomatoes, cucumbers, peppers, bananas, apples, waffles, donuts, bread, cornflakes, raisins, peanuts, pistachios etc. were used during this intervention. This type of intervention lasted one year and six months, with one session per month.

In all the types of intervention, the rewards for encouraging the child were social (hugs, high five) or verbal (“Bravo!”, “Excellent!”, “Great!”). Sometimes, he received a maze to solve, as this was one of his favorite activities. For the fast food sessions, the toy received in the children’s menu was the motivation and reward for the desensitization exercise.

RESULTS

After one year and six months of intervention, in the three approaches described above, we present the new foods accepted by Tudor as part of his regular diet or those he can just taste in Table 1.

Also, Tudor accepts and even takes pleasure in drinking juice (apple, pear or orange).

The progress registered during this intervention through the three types of approaches was different. Each contributed to the overall progress of the child and increased the ability to accept new foods and reduce inappropriate behaviors at mealtime, but in a different way. The classical desensitization conducted in 1:1 session with a therapist had important effects in decreasing inadequate behaviors, increasing tolerance towards new food in terms of touching, smelling, touching with the lips, but did not lead to an actual acceptance in the diet of neither food.

Due to the nature of the intervention and to the technical difficulties (the food had to be fresh, similar in shape, color and taste for a long time, with the intervention taking several months, easy to carry etc.) fruits were chosen for the first phases of desensitization (apple, banana, orange). The first fruit in the desensitization program was the apple and lasted for about six weeks from acceptance into the visual field until touching with the lips and tongue. The others took three, respectively two weeks, but neither passed the phase of touching with the tongue, in order to be tasted in the 1:1 sessions.

Table 1

New foods accepted by Tudor after one year and six months of eating behavioral intervention

Food he tastes	Foods he eats
apple	bread
watermelon	hot-dog
cake	pizza
ice cream	cheese sandwich
banana	French fries (McDonalds)
vegetable soup	hamburger (McDonalds)
cucumber	simple spaghetti
pepper	grilled steak
carrot	chicken fillet
orange	polenta
cornflakes	donuts
raisins	plain pancakes
peanuts	meat-free pâté on bread
	waffles
	angel food cake

A real and measurable progress was noticed during the family intervention. The desensitization was conducted here with several types of food which are available in a household: soups, vegetables, meat, prepared and presented in different forms. Thus, 10 types of food have already been introduced in the diet and 8 types of food have only been tasted at the time of the evaluation.

A notable progress was also noticed during group therapy. Five types of food have already been included in the diet and four are at the taste/nibble phase, as a result of this type of intervention. What is important to mention is that with this therapeutic approach, sometimes a food was tasted at first contact, with all stages of the desensitization program during one session, and that progress was stable after that time.

DISCUSSION

Eating disorders are very important and should not be neglected as they can lead, in the case of long-term restrictive diets, to weight loss, vitamin deficiencies (A, C, D, K) (Hyman et al. 2012), cognitive and growth delays, generating the need

for invasive medical interventions (the insertion of a feeding tube), a psycho-social deficit and reduced academic development (Sharp et al. 2010).

In the case of autistic children, a complex analysis of the biological and cultural factors which may cause those behaviors is required. We believe an anthropological analysis of eating behaviors is the best approach in this case. In this case, although the child has a severe good hyper-selectivity, the data analysis has shown this was not a biological sensitivity, but more likely a set of cultural and familial factors supporting the child's fear of trying new foods. The intervention based on these findings was shown to be adequate and as a result has led to notable progress. The changes in the behavior of the family towards Tudor and his eating habits led to a notable progress and the acceptance of a significant number of foods in his daily diet. This fact supports the importance of the family feeding behaviors analysis and the need for behavioral intervention at this level.

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CIRCUMPLEX MODEL OF MARITAL AND FAMILY SYSTEMS (FACES III) IN ROMANIA

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Abstract. Useful for clinical evaluation as well as to evaluate the efficacy of marital and family therapeutic intervention is *Family Adaptability and Cohesion Evaluation Scales III*; the functional family models have moderate scores in cohesion and flexibility. Objectives: Identifying the influence of residence environment, age and gender on *Adaptability and Cohesiveness* the evaluating power of FACES III on a sample of 1215 subjects aged between 18 and 74 in comparison with the results obtained by interview with 324 subjects. Mid-range and Balanced type families are the most frequent. Families from urban environment tend to lack somewhat in cohesion, showing increased flexibility. For Romanian cultural space some of the items should be reworded because in the case of extreme scores the evaluation should be verified by interview.

Keywords: family, adaptability, cohesiveness, Circumplex Model.

INTRODUCTION

A Presentation of the Family Adaptability and Cohesiveness Evaluation Scale III, or the Circumplex Model of Marital and Family Systems

One modality of conceptualizing the family is using the cohesion, flexibility and communication constructs, proposed by Olson and collaborators as the *Family Adaptability and Cohesiveness Evaluation Scale III*, (*The FACES III*), or the *Circumplex Model of Marital and Family Systems*. Very high scores, in the extremes, are indicative of dysfunctional families (Olson, 1991). Other extensive studies have indicated a higher correlation between high scores and functional families (Green et al. 1991). Due to the model's reduced capacity to precisely represent the very high cohesion and adaptability levels, Olson and collaborators

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In principle, when referring to the family, we consider its members as animated by an emotional bond, that is to say by cohesion. Very high cohesion scores indicate a symbiosis between family members which, contrary to expectations – at least in the long term, is not exactly a good indicator of family functionality (Figure 1).

Conjugal and family system cohesion			
←			→
—			+
DISENGAGED	SEPARATED	CONNECTED	ENMESHED
Maximum emotional separation			Maximum emotional closeness
Low interaction			Little personal space, independence
Conflicting interests			Fusion, symbiosis

Figure 1. Representation of cohesion in the conjugal and family system.

As in the case of cohesion, as far as flexibility is concerned, the capacity of the family to change obsolete rules that became counterproductive in relation to the

life cycles of the family members, as well as changing roles and leadership if the situation so requires, is very important (Drăghici, 2015). Structured and flexible conjugal relationships are democratic – all family members participate in the decision making, children being actively involved as well. The change of one rule in favour of another, more age appropriate rule, is explained.

Conjugal and family system flexibility			
←		→	
–			+
RIGID	STRUCTURED	FLEXIBLE	CHAOTIC
Maximum authority			Maximum permissiveness
Precise and strictly applied rules			Frequent change of rules
Decisions imposed by parents			Decisions negotiated at length

Figure 2. Representation of flexibility in the conjugal and family system.

Communication, being a parameter which facilitates the other two parameters, is not graphically represented. The communication parameter helps the families modify their cohesion and flexibility levels. It is not only about clarity, but also about the ability to share with other family members, the capacity to empathically listening, with respect and appreciation, to the emotions generated by their joys and sorrows (Olson & Gorall, 2003:514-542; Popa, 2013).

These models become more obvious during the transitions within life cycles, such as the emergence of the parent status after childbirth, or as a result of an unpleasant, stress-generating event, such as illness or accident. During stress, the Balanced systems tend to change the model type in order to adapt; on the contrary, the Unbalanced systems tend to remain stuck in the extreme system (Olson, 1999).

Some studies which have used FACES III

A study on two groups of mothers was conducted using FACES III. The first group consisted of 15 mothers which were summoned by the local authority because their children aged 12 to 15, skipped school, due to fear, for up to 6 months. The second group consisted of 25 mothers, suffering from depression, involved in a program for preventing the problem development in their own children. Mothers whose children refused to go to school predominantly saw their families as Flexibly Enmeshed, whereas mothers suffering from depression saw their families as Rigidly Disengaged. Although the mothers of the children who refused to go to school were also clinically depressed, they saw their families

differently (Flexibly Enmeshed). The study shows that the child's refusal to go to school acts more strongly on the dynamics of the family relationship than the mother's depression (Place et al. 2005).

Nevertheless, studies indicate that mothers suffering from depression reported a higher degree of emotional detachment within the family, a fact that must be considered in the intervention programs (Brownrigg et al. 2004). Thus, it is imprudent to consider in an a priori manner that a child who refuses to go to school is part of, or the product of a moderately involved family environment.

A study conducted on a sample of 2087 American subjects of Asian descent investigated the power of influence of the generational rank and of the family cohesion on those who have used mental health services between 2002 and 2003. The family cohesion and the generational rank in Asian-Americans influenced the call for mental health services. Thus, the need for medical assistance, in general, and for mental health assistance, in particular, is higher among the first generation of Americans coming from Asia than it is in the third. This indicates the importance of the family system support and that the public health programs should take into consideration immigrants, as well as individuals lacking family support (Ta Van M. et al. 2010).

In a study conducted in Greece (Tsibidaki & Tsampanli, 2009) on 30 families which were raising children with severe disabilities, the Family Adaptability and the Cohesion Evaluation Scale, FACES-III (Olson, 1986) were used, along with semi-structured interviews, in order to compare these families with those without children suffering from disabilities. The study did not any discover significant differences between the two family types regarding the cohesion and the flexibility, both functioning within Balanced parameters, or in the "healthy zone", as it is called in the revised Circumplex Model (Olson, 1991).

A study undertaken on 79 women who were subjects to domestic violence and required care or shelter utilized the Circumplex Model of Marital and Family Systems.

The first conclusion was that women who were victims of violence perceived their relationship at the time with their partners in such a way that it conformed to the rigid-disengaged model, according to the Circumplex Model. Furthermore, the abused women had expectations for an ideal relationship so that from this perspective they fitted into the chaotic-enmeshed model, at the other end of the spectrum. It is a fact which should be considered in support therapies for these abused persons. Furthermore, the discrepancy between the perception of the current family and that of the ideal family may be indicative of the degree of satisfaction of the individuals in the current family system (Shir, 1999).

A study undertaken on 87 sociology students from the USA aimed to find a correlation between the type of family evaluated via the Circumplex Model of Marital and Family Systems and religiosity. Inter-confessional marriages registered lower functionality levels than marriages within the same faith. It is possible that,

due to differences regarding religious convictions, conflicts arise, conflicts which may influence the cohesion levels, which, in turn, lead to reduced functionality levels of families (Coldwell, 2004).

METHODS

Designing the sample

The data were collected between 2011 and 2012, in the following cities: Bucharest, Craiova and Satu Mare, as well as in the rural area, in the communes of Cioroişi (Dolj County), Stolnici (Argeş county) and various communes in Satu Mare county. When choosing these locations it has been taken into account that these statistical units have certain socio-demographical and cultural characteristics, such as the age of the settlement, the density of the population, the access to transportation by car, by train and by plane, its rank according to the Plan for national territory arrangement – all of these features offering them a certain specificity (Figure 3).

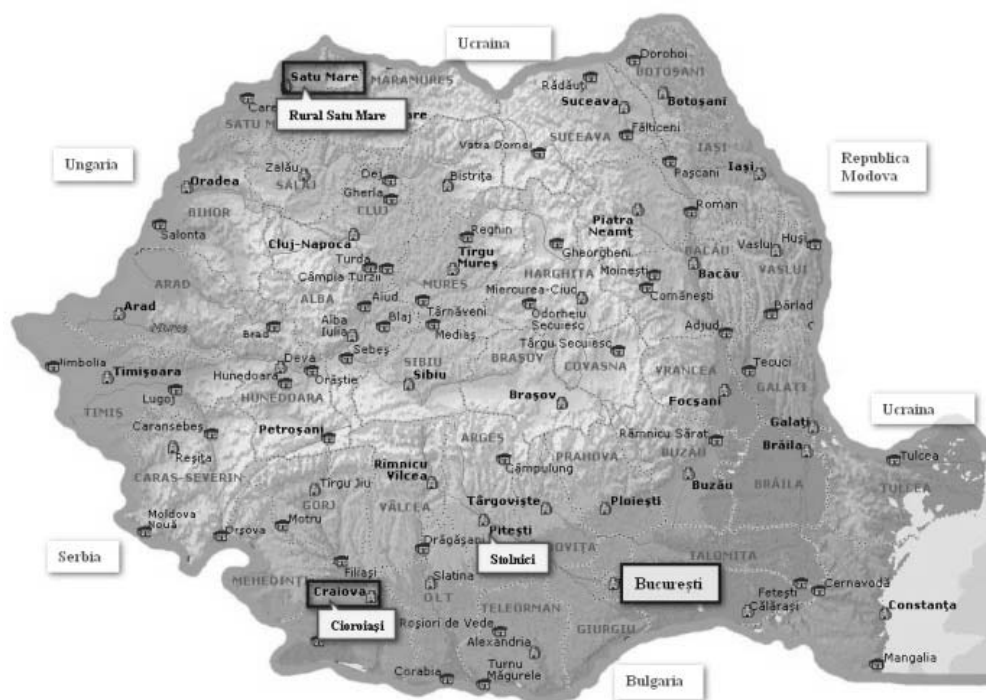


Figure 3. The localities from which research subjects were selected
http://www.rovt.ro/romania_map_ro.htm

The sample, unrepresentative for the entire country, includes N=1,215 subjects, 672 from the urban environment, and 543 from the rural environment. The subjects are 18–74 years old; the draw up of these age limits has been done taking into consideration the official age of adulthood and the average life span at the national level in 2008, which was 73.03 years (women – 76.68 years, men – 69.49 years) (***)The annual Romanian statistic directory, National Statistics Institute, 2009).

Random sampling stratified according to gender and age group was used. Subjects were selected relatively homogeneously within these layers (Table 1).

Table 1

Subject distribution according to gender, residence environment and age group

Basic structure of the sample		Age groups (years)					Total
		18–24	25–34	35–49	50–59	60–74	
Male	N	51	97	110	44	39	341
	%	15.0	28.4	32.3	12.9	11.4	100
Female	N	59	93	108	44	27	331
	%	17.8	28.1	32.6	13.3	8.2	100
Total urban	N	110	190	218	88	66	672
	%	16.4	28.3	32.4	13.1	9.8	100
Male	N	55	48	73	47	42	265
	%	20.8	18.1	27.5	17.7	15.8	100
Female	N	77	59	56	51	35	278
	%	27.7	21.2	20.1	18.3	12.6	100
Total rural	N	132	107	129	98	77	543
	%	24.3	19.7	23.8	18.0	14.2	100

Furthermore, the obtainment of a balanced configuration according to the educational level was pursued throughout the sample group.

Of the 672 subjects from the urban environment which answered the FACES III questionnaire, 324 subjects were selected to participate in focus group type interviews, 108 from each settlement – Bucharest, Craiova and Satu Mare. Each interview group comprised 9 subjects. In order to allow the delineation of the family models according to generation, the choice was to pursue a distribution as even as possible, with respect to gender and age group. The individuals which were widowed or divorced, in consensual union or which have received counseling or psychotherapy services were not interviewed. 72.8% of the subjects were married. 197 persons with children, married or in a consensual union of over three years described their current family (family of procreation). 127 persons without children (married or not married) recounted and answered thinking of the family in which they grew up (family of origin).

Measuring instruments

FACES III is comprised of 30 items, 16 of which evaluate cohesion, and 14 of which evaluate adaptability (Olson 1993; Olson 1991; Ravi & Shirali, 1992; Rodick & Henggeler, 1986).

The cohesion parameter is evaluated through two items at a time, which correspond to the following eight concepts: emotional bond, family bond, coalitions, time management, space, friends, decision making and interests (leisure, relaxation, hobbies). The flexibility parameter is evaluated through two or three items at a time, corresponding to the following concepts: assertiveness, leadership, discipline, negotiation, rules and roles. The item answer variants are displayed on a Likert type scale of 5 intensities, starting from 1 (Never) to 5 (Almost Always).

Through the structured (focused) interview, the interlocutors were asked to recount about communication, cohesion and flexibility in their families, based on an interview guide with specific questions regarding: boundaries between family members, availability to share space and time with other family members, the emotional bond and the ability to adapt to change. For the interview guide, ten questions concerning cohesion, five concerning flexibility and six concerning communication within the family were used, inspired by FACES III. The scale used within the interview guide to evaluate cohesion and communication ranged from 1 to 8, where 1 was very low and 8 was very high. The flexibility scale represented the inverted version of the one designed to measure cohesion and communication.

The objectives of the study are: 1) Analysis of family types according to FACES III. 2) The influence of residence environment, age and gender on adaptability and cohesiveness. 2) Identifying the evaluating power of FACES III in comparison with the results obtained by interview.

The study fills a vacuum, due to the fact that only a few studies have been identified in the scholarly literature which would evaluate the conjugal and family systems in Romania, based on FACES III. Furthermore, this study represents the introduction to the following study, which will be undertaken using FACES IV.

RESULTS

Analysis of family types according to FACES III, within the entire sample

The registered scores within the cohesion parameter are indicative of a relatively egalitarian distribution of disengaged 28.5%, separated 29.6% and connected families 28.6%, enmeshed families being the least frequent 13.3%. Concerning the flexibility parameter, the highest share was registered by the chaotic families 37.6, with relatively equal shares concerning the structured (27.2%) and flexible families (24.4 5%). The rigid family is the least represented 10.9%.

The distribution of the family models according to the Circumplex Model within the entire sample is represented in Figure 4. The Chaotically Connected model (234 families) and Structurally Disengaged model (156 families) are predominant.

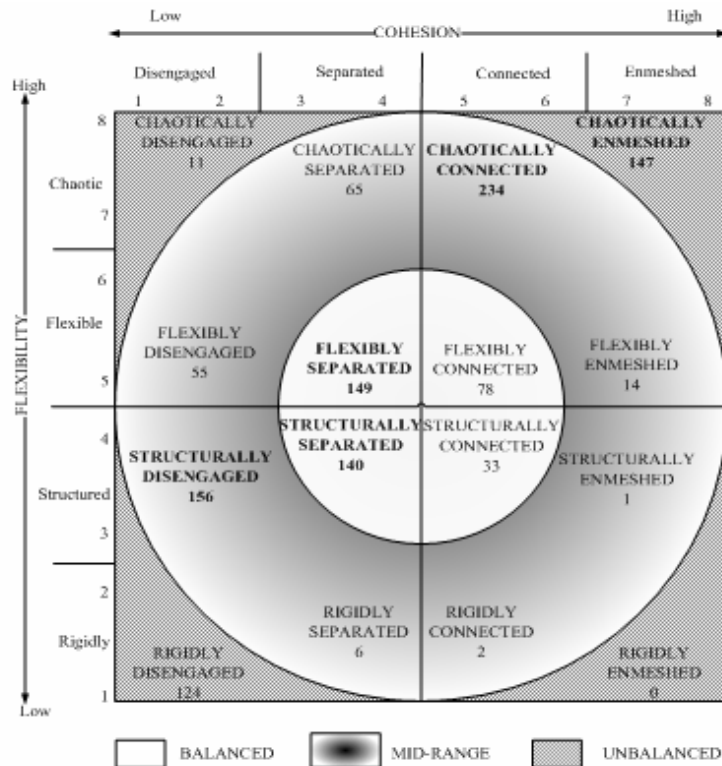


Figure 4. The distribution of the family models according to the Circumplex Model within the entire sample.

Throughout the sample, most families function according to the Chaotically Connected model. The average to high cohesion score is indicative of a bonded family, which would be characterized by emotional closeness with a certain degree of separation, loyalty being expected. The involvement is strong but personal distance is allowed, affective interactions being preferred. The conjugal relationship is described as close, with a certain degree of separation. The parent-child relationship is close, with clear generational demarcation. The family is more often together than separated, more often inside than outside the family. The very high Flexibility score is indicative of a chaotic family, which would be characterized by limited leadership, unsuccessful parental control, and laissez-faire leadership, very tolerant, with lengthy negotiations or impulsive decisions, less clear roles, often changed or inconsistently applied. Table 2 shows a predominance of the Mid-range and Balanced functional families.

Table 2

The distribution of FACES III family functioning types

Family functioning types according to FACES III	N	%	% Cumulative
Balanced	400	32.9	32.9
Mid-range	533	43.9	76.8
Unbalanced	282	23.2	100
Total	1 215	100	

Analysis of family type according to FACES III, based on residence environment and age groups

Represented on the histogram, the 16 family models are indicative of a higher concentration within the urban environment of the Structurally Disengaged model (Figure 5). Families in the urban environment tend to do less well concerning the cohesion and more well concerning flexibility (adaptability).

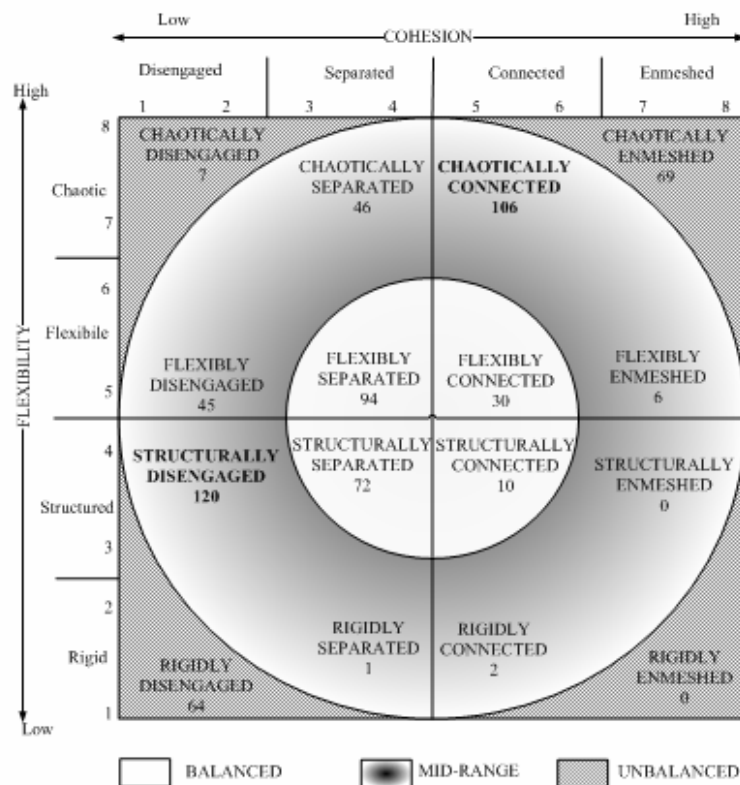


Figure 5. The distribution of the Circumplex Model family models in the urban environment.

The family functioning model which prevails throughout the sample, Chaotically Connected, predominates in the rural environment as well. Mainly, it is characterized by healthy cohesion (low to average scores) and too high flexibility scores (Figure 6).

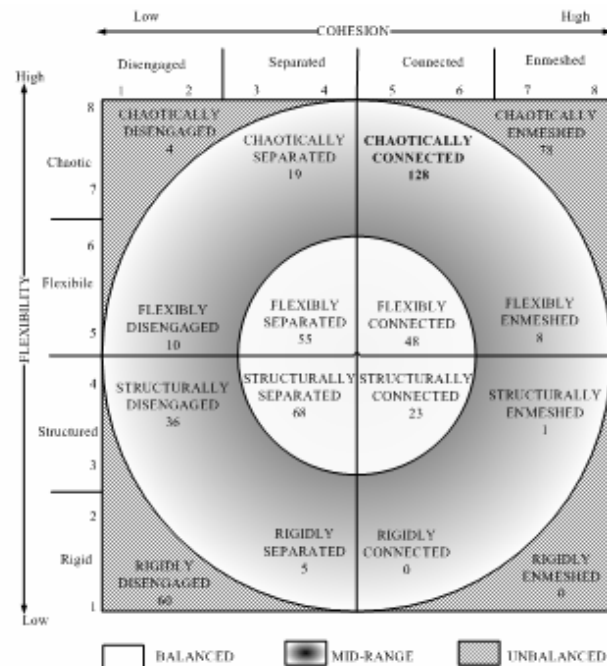


Figure 6. The distribution of the Circumplex Model family models in the rural environment.

The Mid-range type families and Balanced type families is larger in the urban environment ($p < 0.01$) (Table 3).

Table 3

The distribution of the family functioning types, according to FACES III, based on residence environment

Family functioning types according to FACES III	Residence environment		Total
	Urban	Rural	
Balanced	51.5	48.5	100
Mid-range	61.2	38.8	100
Unbalanced	49.6	50.4	100
Total	55.3	44.7	100

At the beginning of the study, we launched the hypothesis that within the conjugal and the family systems, the two parameters – cohesion and flexibility –

would be different in a statistically significant way, according to the age groups of the subjects. However, when analyzed separately, the hypothesis was confirmed only regarding the flexibility (adaptability) parameter. Thus, the intensity of the cohesion tends to be distributed homogenously within age groups, throughout the sub-models. From a cohesion point of view, the largest share – 58.2% – is held by the connected sub-model family type, identified in individuals over 35 years old.

The statistic is indicative of significant differences (Pearson Chi-Square=16.504, $df=3$, $p=0.001$), the rigid sub-model family type being characteristic for persons aged 35 or younger (Table 4).

Table 4

The distribution of the flexibility sub-models according to the Circumplex

Flexibility sub-models according FACES III	Age groups (years)		Total
	≤ 35	> 35	
Chaotic	42.2	57.8	100
Flexible	45.3	54.7	100
Structured	47.0	53.0	100
Rigid	62.1	37.9	100
Total	46.4	53.6	100

Model (FACES III), based on age group

Concerning functionality, the family type differs according to the age group, the Unbalanced type holding a larger share in families comprised of individuals aged 35 or younger (Pearson Chi-Square=7.815, $df=2$, $p=0.020$) (Table 5).

Table 5

The distribution of the family functioning types, according to FACES III, based on age group

Family functioning types according to FACES III	Age groups (years)		Total
	≤ 35	> 35	
Balanced	47.5	52.5	100
Mid-range	42.4	57.6	100
Unbalanced	52.5	47.5	100
Total	46.4	53.6	100

Cohesion, Flexibility and Communication within the sub-sample used to conduct the interviews

According to FACES III, within this sub-sample, which took part in the focus groups, the Structurally Disengaged and the Chaotically Connected family models are predominant (Figure 7).

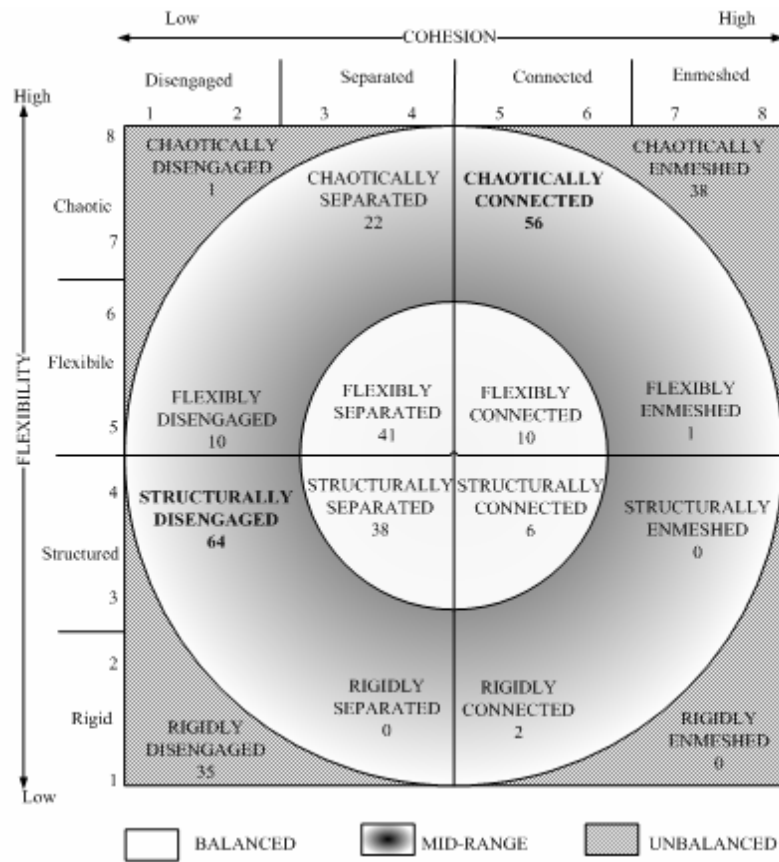


Figure 7. The distribution of the family models according to the Circumplex Model, within the interviewed sub-sample.

Almost half of this sub-sample is part of the Mid-range family type.

Within the interviews, it can be observed that circa half of the interviewed individuals described a family with very high cohesion, very low flexibility and average to high communication (Table 6).

Table 6

The distribution of cohesion, flexibility and communication scores obtained via the interview

Intensity	Cohesion		Flexibility		Communication	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Very low	4	1.2	166	51.2	12	3.7
Low, to medium	34	10.5	102	31.5	52	16.0
Medium, to high	126	38.9	33	10.2	186	57.4
Very high	160	49.4	23	7.1	74	22.8
Total	324	100.0	324	100	324	100

Almost three quarters of the interview participants described their families as very cohesive, regarding the following four aspects: 1) emotional-affective closeness; 2) family member interaction; 3) relationships between parents/spouses/ partners; 4) relationships between parents and child/children. In most discussions, the evaluation tended towards a scale with very high scores (7, 8). The introduction of the symbiotic attachment concept into the discussion, by the moderator, highlighted the fact that they feel love towards the family and its members, a healthy, secure attachment and belief that they find love within their family, they find the affective environment which they need and that they are not dealing with symbiosis. The Balanced cohesion did not correlate with the satisfaction within the couple. The interviews were indicative of the fact that high couple satisfaction levels were correlated with extremely cohesive couples, with balanced flexibility. Furthermore, all those who awarded maximum scores to the four relationship aspects describing cohesion, affirmed the presence of the inter-generational support, the perception of the family as a nurturing environment of affection and the fact that they had not seen their parents hitting each-other or heard them quarrelling.

The other six items used to determine cohesion within the family system, regarded the family members' internal and external demarcations. The scores drop to 5-6. Thus, the following aspects tend to be average to high: the physical and emotional space, intimacy, communal decision making, communal interests, and reference for communal rather than separated activities.

Regarding the settlements, within groups, a low cohesion expression was evident in Bucharest and very high cohesion expression in Satu Mare. The tendency for men to describe less emotional involvement between family members than women was noticed. Once more, no specific elements based on age group regarding cohesion intensity were identified in communication transactions during interviews.

Also, in the case of the individuals with children, an enmeshed type of cohesion was expressed, the subjects focusing on the discussion with their children, their importance and their dedication to them. The average age was 46, and for most of them, the happiest events of their lives were "the birth of their children, grandchildren" and "my marriage, my children's/grandchildren's marriage".

The individuals without children, homogenously expressed a very high enmeshed type cohesion and average to high connected type cohesion, highlighting however more personal autonomy. The average age was 25, and for most of them, the happiest events of their lives were "getting into college, graduating from college, academic and professional achievements".

Over half of the participants in the interview described their families as displaying a very low flexibility regarding control, discipline, negotiation and rules, which corresponds to the rigid sub-model. This was expressed throughout the discussions through a remarkable respect towards rules, which once established, must be respected. The children's position is subordinated to the parents, their role being to execute, the parental control being of authoritative type. These opinions were expressed just as strongly by individuals with and without children.

Within the groups, the most traditional in respecting discipline, roles and rules was the group from Satu Mare, followed by the group from Bucharest. In Craiova, a tendency towards negotiation and democratization was identified.

Regarding the couple and the family, women expressed more flexibility and tolerance, whereas men exhibited a more pronounced tendency towards imposed decision and authoritarianism. Circa half of the interviewed individuals confessed that they had occasionally used corporal punishment in order to correct behaviours and to impose discipline. The group from Satu Mare expressed greater agreement regarding the statement that "the woman must take care of the household and raise the children, because that is the custom". "The woman is better than the man at these activities, what would a man do surrounded by pots and pans, he'd be more of a bother..." Also, the group from Satu Mare expressed total agreement with the statement "a woman cannot make a decision without the husband's approval, because he is the head of the family". The interchangeability of roles between the partners, identified within the Bucharest and Craiova groups, had different motivational expressions. In Bucharest, the situational motivation was expressed in a natural way, whereas in Craiova, the motivation of the egalitarian role distribution and the interchangeability were expressed rather in a more vindictive fashion, from positions denoting gender frustrations. In the case of the Bucharest group, comments such as these were recorded: "Of course we help each-other; he does the shopping according to a list drawn by me, I cook, he does the dishes, I lay the table; I like it for us to be complementary in what concerns certain things and alike regarding others; I wouldn't like staying in a relationship in which I would have to ask the other one to do something just because I liked it." "We have days when we meet common friends, and days when I meet up the girls and him the boys, and when we see each other again, we have more energy." "In our household, my parents are very particular about respecting schedules and rules; this taught me to be methodical, which helps me gain time, so I don't regret having been scolded, punished, when I would break promises."

In the case of the Craiova group, comments such as the following were recorded: "Gone are the days when the woman would tend the pot and be a servant, let them pull their weight around the house too, football games and beer won't cut it anymore." "If he has fun, I have fun too, if he works, I work too, but I like it when he admires me, when he appreciates how well I'm doing."

The discussions based on the six items which evaluate communication have shown that more than half of all participants described an average to high communication within the conjugal system. Only 12 persons described a very low communication in their family. Men and women thought similarly with respect to communication, considering that their family promoted respect, appreciation, confessions about oneself and one's feelings. However, women complained that often their partners would not listen carefully and empathically, often feeling they were doing monologues rather than establishing a dialogue with their partners. On the other hand, most men considered it quite tiring for them, even frightening, to

speak about emotions so much. The highest communication potential was recorded within the Craiova groups. Communication within the families of procreation of older persons with children was described in the same positive terms as the younger persons without children used when describing their families of origin. The main theme of communication within the families was the raising and the education of children and the attribution and distribution of domestic roles. The interviewed participants, who were married with children, mostly stated that they had discussed the number of desired children and aspects of family planning with their partner, as well as selecting the preferred contraception method.

DISCUSSIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

1. The results of applying FACES III on the entire sample are indicative of the lowest representation of the families belonging to the enmeshed and rigid sub-models, which denotes a democratization and autonomy of parental, communication and role exertion styles, a transition from the traditional to the modern family. The fact that over three quarters of the subjects described their family as FACES III Balanced and Mid-range denotes the fact that the Romanian family has good closeness and adaptability potential and a healthy functioning method.

2. Results following the application of the interview guide indicate, in almost $\frac{1}{2}$ of the sample, low-to-medium and medium-to-high scores regarding the cohesion and flexibility, which would correspond to the Mid-range type; for the Romanian family, this is also indicative of good emotional and adaptive resources. A good communication potential of the contemporary Romanian family is indicated by the fact that over $\frac{3}{4}$ of subjects obtained average-to-high and low-to-average scores regarding this parameter.

3. The small size of the population, the ethnographic and folkloric traditions, smaller challenges regarding interior displacement etc. have determined that, habitually, the rural environment be regarded as more poetic, emotional, cohesive, settled, quiet, etc. Contrary to expectancies, this study shows that the Mid-range and Balance functioning potential is higher in the urban environment. A possible explanation is the massive migration abroad of the adults in the rural areas, in search of employment. An overwhelming majority of children and adolescents are being raised by grandparents, and authentic physical contact with parents is established only about twice a year, at Easter and Christmas (Gulei, 2011).

4. Some details are necessary regarding higher rigidity among younger persons between 18 and 35 years. Probably they adopted a lifestyle with strict rules and roles. Statistically, for most people, this interval is concentrated on professional and family adaptation, intensifying professional experience, emergence of the parent status, and only around the age of 35 does certain stability occur. Another challenge is finding a balance between the career and the family life, which can lead to difficulties within the couple.

Secondly, it may be that this rigid family sub-model, resulting from a description of low flexibility intensity, is apparent precisely due to the perception of the external pressure in order to record and manage these new identities to the best of one's ability. Just as there is a biological clock, there is also a social clock, represented by social norms connected to each stage of development to which the individual relates in order to evaluate the degree of similitude of one's own evolution. An event occurring prematurely or with delay most often creates discomfort, which explains this rigidity, be it self-perceived or self-imposed (Neugarten, 1979; Barrett, 2005; Ciobanu, A.M., Popa, C., 2013).

Thus, it seems that the difference between the families' functioning modality is not defined by cohesion, but rather by the measure of the status and role changes taking place during this time, by the amount of flexibility.

5. The fact that, during the interviews, the highest share of uninvolved, emotionally disengaged families with very low cohesion scores, named via FACES III as the disengaged sub-model, was recorded in Bucharest may be an indicator of marital dissatisfaction (Craddock, 1991). This very low cohesion within Bucharest groups may also be a risk factor for heart health, studies showing an association between arterial hypertension and low marital cohesion (Baker et al. 1999). A possible explanation is the throbbing rhythm of the Romanian capital, with the highest number of inhabitants, the most important educational center and the most important national and international road, railway and air transport node in the country (Institutul National de Statistică, 2009).

The fact that in Satu Mare a very high expression of cohesion was recorded, along with the affirmations regarding the domestic roles, is more an indicative of a traditional family model (Fowers & Olson, 1993).

Satu Mare County is located in a border area with a high rate of prevalence of the temporary migration abroad. In this context, expectations would have leaned towards a modern and postmodern family model, with more autonomy and less cohesion. In spite of this, the area is one of the most steadfast keepers of the ethnographic and folkloric traditions, the local population's solidarity being well known (Direcția Județeană de Statistică Satu Mare).

Furthermore, along with the Romanians and the Orthodox Christians in the Satu Mare area, a large part of the population is comprised of ethnic – mainly Hungarian – and religious – mainly reformed, Roman-Catholic and Greek-Catholic – minorities. As a result, another aspect which should be considered and should represent a research subject in the future is the influence of the religious and ethnic allegiance on the family type (Walsh, 2010). Being sensitive to ethnic, cultural and religious diversity, FACES III is especially useful in the comparative research on immigrant families.

Gender differences concerning woman's increased need for emotional closeness and higher tolerance may be explained via the traditional distribution of the affective role of the woman within and without the family unit.

6. The main problems which the FACES III evaluation raises on one hand, and highlights in comparison to the interview scores and the descriptions within the interview discussion, on the other hand, are those concerning the cohesion and the flexibility extremes. Around half of them have obtained very high scores with respect to cohesion and flexibility, and the majority of the interviewed individuals described their family as cohesive and rigid, but, through FACES III, the majority of the families are recorded as moderately cohesive and chaotic. Thus, yet again, the highest difference is due to perception of flexibility.

The results obtained through interviews seem to contradict Olson's statement that very high cohesion, corresponding to the enmeshed sub-model, is unhealthy. This is only partially true, because in this model the types of families are combinations between cohesion and flexibility sub-models and are not taken separately. Only very high (enmeshed) or very low cohesion (disengaged), in combination with very low (rigidity) and very high flexibility (chaotic) indicate an Unbalanced family.

Thus, we can affirm that the relevant family is situated in one of the 16 family categories, but not that the four extreme family models are Unbalanced or unhealthy families. It might be that these four family types (high scores, very low scores) are faced with a difficult life event, which determined them to be that way in order to "function". For Romania, a good example is represented by the grandparents who are required to completely replace the absent parents, left to work in other countries. The parents-children contacts only occur during the two great religious celebrations – Christmas and Easter, when they can afford to return to Romania. On the one hand, through a desire to cope, grandparents may adopt a rigid educational system. On the other hand, the grandparents may adopt a very close emotional style, in order to compensate for the absence of the parents. Additionally, the grandparents are also parents with children situated very far away which can lead to them projecting all the love they cannot offer their children towards their grandchildren. In Romania, the situation of the families with members working abroad, as a result of the lack of resources, has been a way out of poverty, or a means to survive, but has had unwanted effects on the relationship between family members and most of all, on children.

The partial inconsistency obtained between the data collected via interviews, when compared to the data obtained from the FACES III family subtypes, shows the importance which should be given to doubling the application of the evaluation scale with interviews. For example, in the current case, marital satisfaction was associated with very high cohesion and positive connotations were attributed to very low flexibility. Also, the fact that marital satisfaction was correlated with very high cohesion suggests that a family will function well if its members' expectations are met by that family, even if it exhibits an extreme model.

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THE GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT OF ADOLESCENTS FROM TWO ROMANIAN COUNTIES – A COMPARATIVE STUDY

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This article presents the results of a comparative study on two samples of high school adolescents from two different cities in Romania – Bucharest and Iasi. The two cities were chosen due to the socio-economic differences they display: the adolescents in Bucharest come from families with a high monthly income and parents that are university graduates. The adolescents from Moldova come from the villages surrounding Iasi city. Their families have a low economic profile and most of the parents are secondary school or high school graduates, while a few are primary school graduates only. The aim of the study was to observe the differences in growth at the age of 14-15 between the adolescents developing in the different socio-economic context. Anthropometric measurements were performed (height, sitting height, weight, BMI, adipose tissue, arm thorax and hip circumferences) and a questionnaire was applied to investigate age of puberty, among others. The results demonstrate the existence of differences in growth and development of adolescents from the two different Romanian regions studied, especially in boys. The data could contribute to a better understanding of the current context in which adolescents in Romania are developing and help in taking the correct measures to reduce the socio-economic differences between different regions of Romania.

Keywords: adolescents, growth, socio-economic factors, height, sitting height, weight, BMI.

INTRODUCTION

The factors involved with human growth and development are classified into two major groups: factors related to the internal environment (genetic, metabolic, endocrine) and those related to the external environment (nutrition, disease, level of education, professional status, income, urban/rural environment etc.). All these factors can be favorable to both health and development or, equally, can have a negative impact, leading to severe disruption and affecting the process of growth.

As in every contemporary population, among the Romanian society there is a diversity of socio-cultural factors directly or indirectly affecting growth and

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development at different ages. One such a factor worth mentioning is the socio-economic difference that may rise between different communities.

The recent statistics show that, in 2011, 40.3% of the Romanian population was exposed to the risk of poverty and social exclusion (Eurostat 2011). According to the last Eurostat report, the north-eastern part of Moldova is the poorest region in Romania with an income of 29.5% per capita/UE average. On the other hand, the richest regions in Romania are represented by the cities of Cluj-Napoca, Bucharest, Sibiu and the Ilfov county.

All this data show important socio-economic differences between different regions, which would have a direct impact on the growth and development of individuals. According to Blum and Baten (2011) and others (Pradhan, 2003; Moradi, 2005) the coefficient of variation of human stature (CV) is directly proportional with the degree of inequality in a given society and can, therefore, be used as an indicator. The purpose of our study is to reveal the differences in growth and development of adolescents from two socio-economically different regions in Romania in order to contribute to the understanding of the impact of the economic differences on teenagers, at the present.

MATERIALS AND METHOD

The results presented in this paper come from the first year of research of a longitudinal study conducted in two different Romanian regions: the capital city of Bucharest and the city of Iași, located in Moldova. The study is being performed on a number of 140 adolescents (age 14-15), from two high schools located in Bucharest and Iași, respectively. The adolescents in Bucharest come from families with a high monthly income and parents that are university graduates. The subjects study in a private high school where parents pay an annual fee.

The adolescents from Moldova mostly come from villages neighbouring Iași city and live in the public school's dormitory. Their families have a low economic profile and most of the parents are secondary school or high school graduates, while a few are primary school graduates only.

Anthropometrical measurements have been performed and recorded (height, sitting height, weight, BMI, arm, thorax and hip circumferences) for both groups. At the same time, each individual's mass of adipose tissue was measured using a professional Tefal scale through the method of bio-impedance and the results were recorded as such. The BMI was also reported automatically by the same instrument. Adolescents were also given a questionnaire in order to investigate their eating and sleeping habits, preferences related to food, level of physical activity, age of puberty etc.

Data related to puberty were collected as subjects were asked a question in the questionnaire related to puberty including the specification of age (age of first menarche for girls and age of first shaving for boys, in case the events mentioned took place so far).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Among the 70 students in Bucharest, 34 were girls (all having already reached the age of puberty and menarche) while 36 were boys (of which 31 having reached puberty). Out of 70 students in Iași, 40 were girls (all having reached puberty and menarche) while 30 were boys (10 of these had reached puberty while 20 had not at the moment of study). The average age of menarche for girls from Bucharest is 12.1 years, while for the girls from Iași is 13.4 years.

So, at the time the study took place, 86% of the boys measured in Bucharest had reached puberty while in Iași, only 33.3% of the boys had reached this stage. This finding is consistent with the literature: the tendency is that adolescents living in large cities with good socio-economic conditions reach earlier the puberty and are, on average taller, at this age, with respect to the others (Tanner et al., 1976; Muller et al., 1989; Hauspie et al., 1996). Our data suggests obvious differences regarding boys at this age. All girls would have reached puberty by this age regardless the county they live in.

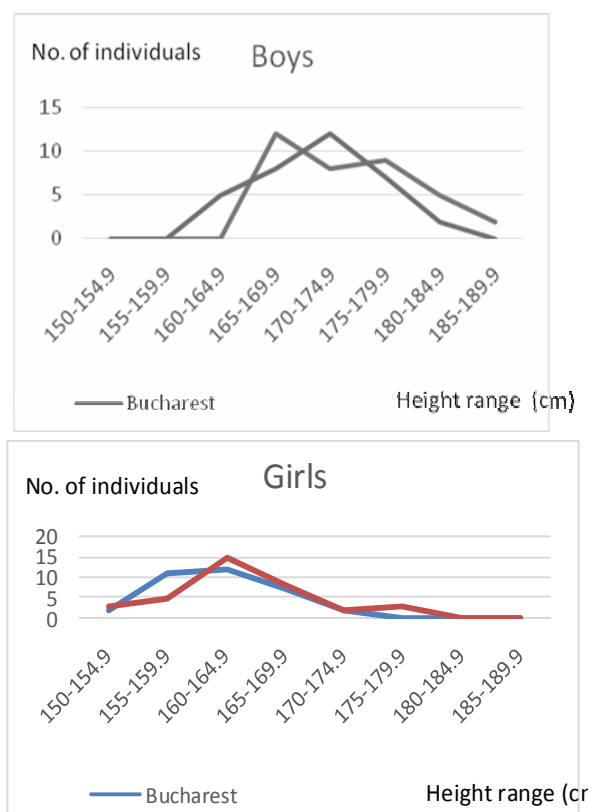


Figure 1. Height distribution in the two groups (boys and girls samples from Bucharest and Iași).

The graph representing the boys height values from Bucharest indicates a first peak between 165 and 169.9 cm (12 individuals) while the interval with the largest number of boys from Iași is the one between 170 to 174.9 cm (12 individuals).

There is a second, smaller peak for the boys in Bucharest at the interval 175-179.9 (9 individuals). The number of boys with heights above 175 cm from both cities drops down, with fewer individuals from Iași with higher values than in Bucharest. The mean value of height in male sample from Bucharest is 174.2 cm, while for the boys measured in Iași is 171.3 cm. The mean for height as well as the graph indicates that, on average, students from Bucharest are ahead in terms of height by comparison with the ones from Iași.

The graph for height distribution from the two regions also shows that the tallest individual (187.8 cm) at this age is also found in Bucharest rather than Iași (maximum height recorded 181.4 cm). The difference between the two samples is statistically significant (Fig. 2).

This is also consistent with the previous findings from similar studies, (Bogin, 1999): there is a higher number of taller teenagers living in highly developed urban areas, with good socio-economic conditions compared to the ones living in rural or urban areas with poorer socio-economic conditions. Students from Iași may catch up in height with the ones from Bucharest during the next years of growth. Our longitudinal study will show whether or not this tendency is confirmed in the given particular case, during the following years.

<i>Sample</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>t value</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>result</i>
Boys Bucharest	174.2	0.0358	< 0.05	statistically significant
Boys Iași	171.3			

<i>Sample</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>t value</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>result</i>
Girls Bucharest	162.1	0.1322	< 0.05	statistically insignificant
Girls Iași	163.1			

Figure 2. Mean values and t-test results for height in the four groups.

Most of the girls from Bucharest have height values between 150 and 164.9 cm, the mean being around 162.1 cm. The majority of girls from Iași are also found in the same interval but there are more individuals between 160-164.9 cm than in Bucharest, the mean being 163.1 cm. The graph from Iași peaks at this values, while, for the girls in Bucharest we can see a larger distribution of height. There is a small number of individuals having heights higher than 165 cm for both cities.

In Bucharest none of the girls measured had heights of 175 cm and above, while in Iași the maximum heights measured were between 175-179.9 cm (3 individuals). The maximum height recorded in girls is from the Iași city – 177.8 cm.

The mean values for height in girls from the two regions show, even if there are small similar values for this parameter, the difference being statistically insignificant, at this age (Fig. 2).

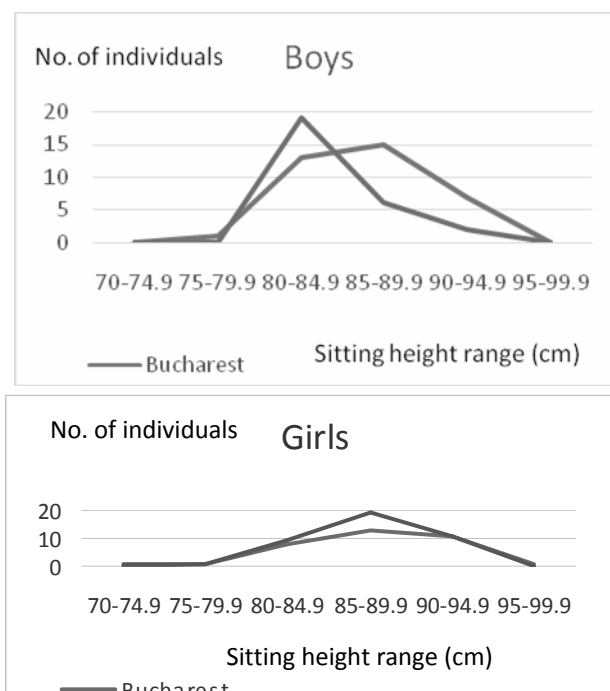


Figure 3. Sitting height distribution in the two groups (boys and girls samples from Bucharest and Iași).

Sitting height gives a measure of the length of the trunk as well as of the legs since it can be subtracted from the total height. These provide information about the variation of the length of trunk and legs as an important indicator of the secular trend.

The first graph shows that the largest number of boys measured in Iași have a sitting height between 80 and 84.9 cm with only a few having heights larger than this range. The boys from Bucharest show a larger distribution of sitting height, mostly between 80 and 89.9 cm. In the range between 90 and 94.9 cm, there are seven individuals in Bucharest in comparison to only two in Iași. In girls, the distribution of sitting height is more uniform than in boys. Both graphs peak at the fourth interval (between 85 and 89.9 cm). The largest number of girls from Iași fall in this interval for the sitting height parameter.

As expected there is a statistically significant difference for this parameter in boys: the subjects from Bucharest have a higher mean for sitting height than the ones from Iași – 86.4 cm for Bucharest in comparison to 84.5 cm for Iași (Fig. 4). Instead we observe no significant difference for the sitting height in girls, means for this parameter being very close – 87.7 cm for Bucharest in comparison to 86.7 cm for Iași (Fig. 4).

Both curves peak at BMI values between 20.1 and 22 with a larger number of boys from Iași (16 individuals). The curve for Iași drops down fast after a BMI of 24, the highest BMI value calculated being 26.3. The curve for Bucharest has a larger distribution with a second peak at a BMI interval of 28.1 and 30 (6 individuals). The highest BMI value calculated for boys in Bucharest is 30.3. There is a statistically significant BMI difference between boys from the two counties with a mean of only 21.8 for Iași in comparison to 24.1 in Bucharest (Fig. 6).

The BMI values for girls show an even distribution for both cities. Both graphs peak at the interval between 20.1-22 with a larger number of individuals from Iași (12) than Bucharest (11). After this value there is a steep drop down in the number of individuals with higher BMIs.

The highest BMI value for girls in Iași falls in the interval 28.1-30. Three of the girls measured in Bucharest have a BMI that falls in the last interval of 32.1 to 34. Even though there is a slightly higher number of girls from Bucharest with a higher BMI value, the difference for this parameter between the two counties is not significantly different (Fig. 6).

However, the highest BMI value among the female sample was calculated for the girls from Bucharest. In the total sample, the highest BMI value was calculated also in Bucharest, among the female sample, surpassing the highest values recorded for the boys – 34.2 compared to 30.3.

The group from Bucharest has got slightly more individuals with an amount of fatty tissue between 10-12 kg. Most of the boys measured from both counties fall in the second interval with a fatty tissue between 10 to 12 kg (25 individuals in Bucharest compared to 21 from Iași).

<i>Sample</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>t value</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>result</i>
Boys Bucharest	86.4	0.0274	< 0.05	statistically significant
Boys Iași	84.5			

<i>Sample</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>t value</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>result</i>
Girls Bucharest	87.7	0.3135	< 0.05	statistically insignificant
Girls Iași	86.7			

Figure 4. Mean values and t-test results for sitting height in the four samples.

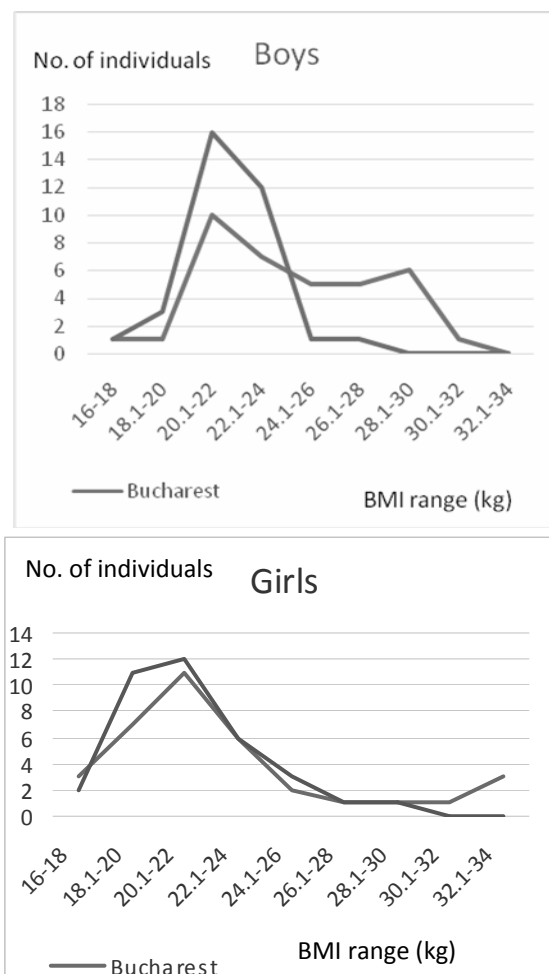


Figure 5. BMI distribution in the two groups (boys and girls samples from Bucharest and Iași).

<i>Sample</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>t value</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>result</i>
Boys Bucharest	24.18	0.0004	< 0.05	statistically significant
Boys Iași	21.81			

<i>Sample</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>t value</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>result</i>
Girls Bucharest	22.71	0.0538	< 0.05	statistically insignificant
Girls Iași	21.04			

Figure 6. Mean values and t-test results for body/mass index in the four samples.

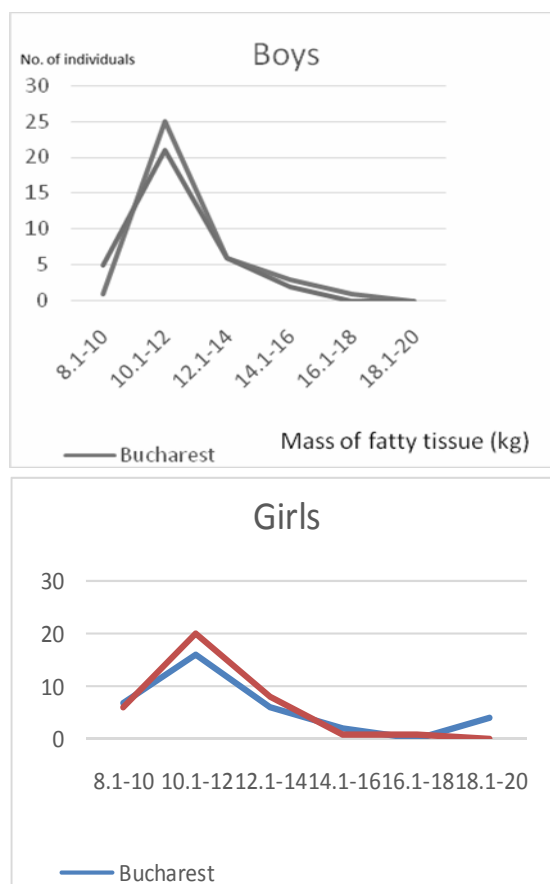


Figure 7. Fatty tissue distribution in the two groups (boys and girls samples from Bucharest and Iași).

There are five boys from Iași with a fatty tissue of less than 10 kg, in comparison to only one from Bucharest. There is a small number of individuals from both counties with an adipose tissue of over 12 kg, the maximum value for this parameter being 16.1 kg in a boy from Bucharest. The means for the fatty tissue in the two samples of boys are very close, being no statistical difference for this parameter (Fig. 8).

Similar to the case of boys, most of the girls measured from both counties, also fall in the second interval with a fatty tissue between 10 to 12 kg. However there are more girls from Iasi than from Bucharest (20 individuals from Iasi in comparison to 16 from Bucharest). There are more girls with a fatty tissue of less than 10 kg from both counties than the boys (7 girls in Bucharest and 6 in Iași). There is a small number of individuals from both cities with an adipose tissue of over 12 kg, the maximum value for this parameter being 19.6 kg, registered in a

girl from Bucharest. There are four girls from Bucharest with a fatty tissue of 18 to 20 kg in comparison to none from Iași than fall in this interval. The means for the fatty tissue in the two samples of girls are close, being no statistical difference for this parameter (Fig. 8).

Overall girls show a higher value for the fatty tissue in comparison to boys, the highest mean for this parameter being the one from the girls in Bucharest – 12.24 kg.

<i>Sample</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>t value</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>Result</i>
Boys Bucharest	11.66	0.2004	< 0.05	statistically insignificant
Boys Iași	11.19			

<i>Sample</i>	<i>Mean</i>	<i>t value</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>result</i>
Girls Bucharest	12.24	0.1836	< 0.05	statistically insignificant
Girls Iași	11.47			

Figure 8. Mean values and t-test results for fatty tissue in the four samples.

CONCLUSIONS

There are differences in growth and development between adolescents (age 14-15) from Bucharest and Iași. The fact that the largest percentage of boys from Bucharest (86%) have reached puberty in comparison to a small percentage in those from Iași (33.3%) is in line with a general trend: the improved socio-economic conditions and easier access and exposure to information through media, commercials etc. will cause an earlier puberty in individuals developing under such circumstances (Halpern et al., 1993; Karlberg, 2002; Euling et al., 2008). The remaining larger percentage of boys from Iași will reach this stage with a delay compared to those from Bucharest.

On the other hand, regardless of county, all girls have reached puberty. At this stage of development girls are ahead of boys: this finding clearly shows the delay in time related to puberty between the two genders.

In terms of height, on average, students from Bucharest are taller at this age. At the same time a larger variation of height was observed in the boys from Bucharest while the height distribution tends to be more uniform in male subjects from Iași. In girls there is no significant difference in terms of height, the means being very close. This is also related to the fact that girls are more advanced in their growth at this age, so the height does not vary as much as in boys in the two different counties.

Boys from Bucharest show a greater variation for sitting height and have higher values for this parameter in comparison with the ones from Iași. Sitting height is related to the overall height so there are significant differences in this respect too. Girls from Bucharest also have a greater variation of sitting height related to the ones from Iași, but the differences are smaller than in boys. Just as with height, girls from the two regions tend to be more uniform in terms of the sitting height variation compared to the boys.

According to the results of this study, on average, male individuals from Bucharest show a larger distribution for the BMI value. In Iași, the largest percentage of boys have lower BMI values and no subject was found to have BMI values exceeding 28. The significant difference in BMI of the boys from the two counties is in relation with the diet, indicating a higher risk of overweight for the subjects with a better socio-economical status.

In girls the difference in BMI between the two cities is not significant, most of the subject having a BMI value of around 21. This finding is related to the fact that all girls have reached their puberty stage at the moment of study.

There are no major differences in terms of mass of adipose tissue in both genders from the two countries included in the study. Slightly more boys from Bucharest have a higher mass of fatty tissue whereas in girls the situation is inversed, with more girls from Iași. In general adolescents with a richer socio-economic status have a higher tendency towards obesity or being overweight.

The research following in the next years will provide more data that will contribute to a better understanding of the current trends in growth and development of adolescents in our country including the impact of the contemporary regional differences.

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NATIONAL AND ETHNIC IN THE DIALECTICS OF IDENTITY IN SKRA, GREECE

SEBASTIAN ȘTEFĂNUCĂ*

Abstract. The processes involved in identity evolution represent a topic of great interest in social anthropology. The present study approaches these processes, taking into account the case of a small community from the north of Greece, traditionally inhabited by Vlachs. This identity evolution takes the form of a dialectics in which national and ethnic elements are intertwined. Based on a substantial empirical ground, the conclusion is that while the national element is taken for granted in the identity equation, the ethnic element does not seem to constitute a category of relevance. However, certain ethnic boundaries can be traced on the coordinates of a particular past or of the cross-border kinship. This permits in the end to ascertain the degree of irrelevance of the ethnic element.

Keywords: ethnic, ethnic boundary, national, past, Vlachs.

INTRODUCTION

It is not uncommon in socio-cultural anthropology for a carefully researched scientific plan to change once we find ourselves doing the fieldwork. Sometimes, the anthropologist changes the entire topic (Okely, 2012: 48), responding to anything that the fieldwork reveals. This happens even more when the researcher gets involved in a fieldwork project without a specific plan in mind, led by a desire to experience long-term fieldwork in a monographic way¹, following the classical canon of initiation in socio-cultural anthropology. Moreover, he has a limited knowledge about the population that is to be investigated. This knowledge consists only in a few identity stereotypes that may appear indifferent to the social reality after a more intense research. Right from the early stages it was pointing towards being a different sort of reality; therefore, the researcher's expectations on the Romanian background of a small Hellenic settlement's (from a region known more widely by its old name: *Meglen*) population's collective identity are empirically disproven by another identity hypothesis' configuration likely to be lacking any kind

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¹ I am talking about an anthropological fieldwork from Northern Greece (on the Kilikis prefecture), between September 2011 and April 2012.

of Romanian feature. It concerns a hypothesis according to which the collective identity is revealed from an entirely different perspective, as a result of a *dialectical relationship* between *two factors*: *national* and *ethnic*. After a couple of weeks it became certain that the link between the two factors was not just a statement based on an assumption. But the result of their dialectical relationship was only going to be clarified after months² of *prolonged observation*, multiplied by daily *ad-hoc discussions* and even more by *in-depth interviews*.³ The data collected in these methodological frameworks was to be gradually recorded mainly in a diary and field notebook, and could easily take the form of a “statistical documentation by concrete evidence” (Malinowski, 1987: 22). However, the reader is not going to deal with any kind of tables, as “statistical documentation” may indicate. The two following paragraphs are meant only for *stringing* of the facts and not to their *trimming*, and this extends to an *ethnographic description*. In this way the fieldwork was not put aside even when the final form of the study was drafted.

Solving the dialectic relationship in favor of the national factor (not so much by its outward affirmation as by *the irrelevancy* of the ethnic factor) associates only to a certain extent with a perspective of total dissolution of the *ethnicity* elements inside of an amorphous mass of a national identity ideology. Some details are repeated until they get the strength of *social facts* and the acceptance of *ethnic boundaries* as well, and thus become hints of a still existent ethnicity, an ethnicity “in-itself” (Geană, 2006: 12), “created and sustained from the inside” (Roosens, 1994: 85) etc., as it has often been characterized in previous studies over the years.

Once these observations are established, the intentions of the current study are to be taken to their final conclusion. To establish a fully *ethnological* understanding¹ of the facts exposed means undertaking further studies performed across several dimensions. From amongst them, the most relevant regarding the *causality perspective* – always the primary concern of science – is what we call the dimension of social (local and regional) post-war history.

TESTIMONIES OF HEROISM IN A SMALL GREEK VILLAGE

Skra is a beautiful mountain village of no more than a hundred and fifty houses, near the northern border of Greece. Evzonoi, the main border crossing

² It refers to the period of time spent in the village of Skra (December 1st 2012 – April 16th 2012). The other time periods (September 13th 2011 – November 30th 2012 and accordingly April 17th 2012 – April 26th 2012) had been spent in the Evzonoi village, 24 kilometers away to the East of Skra.

³ To them are added the cabinet analyses and several returns to the fieldwork in a frame time between a week and a month, in order to achieve a final form for the current text.

¹ I use the term “ethnological” only as far as we stay between the boundaries of the case and its internal logic, avoiding to involve the term in extensive comparative approaches that would point towards any conclusions with a generally universal validity, since that would mean a step into what is labelled as “anthropological”.

point with the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia,² lies 24 km to its east. In administrative terms, Skra belongs to the δήμος (municipality) of Paionia, in the νομός (prefecture) of Kilkis. A visitor leaving the county road to enter the village sees a metal archway over the road reading, in block capitals, Καλώς ήρθατε στο ηρωικό Σκρά! (“Welcome to heroic Skra!”). A hundred metres later, on the left, stands a monument honouring the memory of the approximately one thousand fighting men, both officers and soldiers, who died in battle or of wounds received in the celebrated Battle of Skra against Bulgarian and German invasion forces on May 17th (30th new style) 1918. The names of the fallen heroes from the Seres, Arhipelagos and Kriti divisions are engraved on the memorial plaques on the back of the monument. Every year, these heroes are remembered at this monument in the presence of the bishop of Polikastro, Axioupoli and Gumenissa,³ of representatives of the local, regional and central authorities, and of many ordinary citizens. In addition to a commemoration ceremony at the monument, there is a church service and an artistic programme in the πλατεία,⁴ presented by various specially invited traditional Greek dance groups (σύλλογοι). This rich variety of activities gives to the event the atmosphere of a πανηγύρι or patronal festival. Throughout Greece such festivals regularly take place on the day of the patron saint of each local church. However, there is no connection between the date of the event described here and that of the Skra patronal festival, which is observed in the autumn, on Saint George’s Day. The festive atmosphere of the May commemoration involves festooning the whole village with national flags large and small.

In the *plateia* there is also a small First World War museum. It exhibits firearms, bayonets, shells, shrapnel fragments, lead shot, helmets, uniforms and other military items from the combatants on the Macedonian Front in general and from the Battle of Skra in particular. They belonged to the Greek, French and British contingents on the one side and to the Bulgarian and German forces on the other. Copies of photographs and articles from contemporary newspapers can also be examined. In front of the museum there is a bust of Eleftherios Venizelos, the political architect of victory in the battle, who was prime minister of Greece at that time. Venizelos had earlier won a different battle, against Kings Constantine and Alexander, who wanted Greece to align itself militarily with the Central Powers. Portraits of all three hang in the museum.

² Although some countries accept the designation ‘Macedonia’ for one of the countries formed as a result of the disintegration of Yugoslavia, in this article we will be using the present title. Pending the resolution of the dispute between Greece and the newly-formed state regarding its name, the acronymic form FYROM is the term most commonly used in international documents. Whenever the term Macedonia appears in this paper, it refers to the region of Macedonia, which takes in the whole of the northern part of Greece from the border with Turkey (also including the western part of Thrace) to the border with Albania. The term all Greeks employ to the FYROM is ‘Skopia’, presumably after the name of its capital.

³ The parish of Skra belongs to this diocese.

⁴ *Plateia*, the central square to be found in every Greek village.

The Battle of Skra, waged against the strongest Bulgarian position on the Macedonian Front, had tremendous importance. The keeping of Macedonia – only recently ceded to Greece by Bulgaria as a consequence of the Balkan Wars of 1912-13 – within the borders of Greece was at stake. But the preservation of this new status quo needed to be secured through victory on the whole Macedonian Front. According to Nikolaos Emmanuel Papadakis (2008: 40), that more general attack against the German and Bulgarian forces, involving the reputation of the Greek army, which Venizelos had taken such pains to build up through strenuous diplomatic endeavour, hung on the outcome of this battle. Only victory here could convince the *Entente* of the importance of the Macedonian front and as a consequence persuade it to give Venizelos more substantial help thereafter.

These are not the only testimonies of heroism at Skra. Other monuments related to historical events both prior to and after the First World War can also be visited, and those from the latter period can still be paralleled by vivid recollections in community memory. In the schoolyard, a memorial plaque commemorates Haralambos Garțios, a hero of what was named Μακεδονικός Αγώνας (the battle for Macedonia) (Δρογίδης, 1996: 8), murdered by “barbarian enemies”⁵ in 1913. Above the village, near a now-abandoned military barracks, stands the tomb of Georgios Papageorgiu (1893-1951), a lieutenant-general from Skra, who also took part in the military events of the first half of the twentieth century.

The heroic event with the greatest resonance in the memory of many elderly locals is related to the 1946-1950 civil war, the so-called εμφύλιος πόλεμος.⁶ At that time upholders of a communist future for Greece were battling against government forces who were advocates of a liberal democratic regime. In the battle concerned, the population of Skra – as high as 800 in those days (*ibidem*, 5) – was to pay its tribute of blood. The date of 13th November 1946 is kept alive both through monuments and in the memories of many villagers, some of whom were only children then: “I remember very well, the things that happened were bizarre things (παράξενα) for a child” (Dionisis). On that day, communist αντάρτες⁷ shot around fifty people (estimates differ), including the ten or twelve soldiers in the guardhouse. Their names and ranks are engraved on the marble plaque of the cenotaph in the La Crútsi cemetery, which is situated on the edge of a patch of forest, before one enters the village. Both the tomb of Georgios Papageorgiou and the military cenotaph are obligatory places of funeral ritual during the λάβαρα, a procession that takes place on the second day of Easter. On that day flags brought from Mount Athos are carried around the village and holy bread from Easter night is placed in holes made in the trunks of three trees, two of them near the above-mentioned tombs.

⁵ An expression found in the text engraved on the plaque.

⁶ A collection of narratives about this period, above all about what took place on 13th November 1946, could fill the pages of an entire volume.

⁷ Αντάρτης (fem. αντάρτισσα), “rebel”, “insurgent”, “insurrectionist”, “guerrilla fighter”, “partisan” (Brad-Chisacov [coord.], 2007: 66).

But of all the self-sacrificial acts of those days none is as highly honoured as that of the schoolmistress Vasiliki Papathanasiou, a bust of whom stands in the middle of the schoolyard. Every year, on the day of her martyrdom, the teaching staff gathers here to pay tribute to her heroism.

TRACES OF ETHNICITY AT SKRA

The village is known in the region as a village of Vlachs. It is part of a group of villages and hamlets constituted by Koupa, Arangelos, Perikleia, Livadhia and Langadhia, as well as Huma and Muin, which lie over the border in the F.Y.R.O.M. While the testimonies of events and heroic deeds described in the previous paragraph are well preserved and promoted,⁸ everything related to the ethnicity of Skra can rather be seen as traces that are disappearing step by step. Something of significance from this point of view is the fate of the small ethnographic museum (λαογραφικό μουσείο). The solid iron door with its seized, corroded lock was a clue that no-one had entered for many years. Only through a window, looking between the bars, could one see some books on a shelf, some photographs, a packsaddle, an iron-toothed brush probably used for carding wool, and an old typewriter on a desk. Some months later,⁹ the windowpanes were broken. I never heard the local people – irrespective of whether they were permanent residents of Skra or live elsewhere – talking about the fate of this museum. By contrast, a chapel of the Ascension built by “brothers from Geororgios Vasilios Vlaicos in the Macedonian battle”, which faces the museum across the yard, is well preserved.

Another significant indication of a loss of sense of ethnicity is the abandoning of the old “la Seliști” cemetery (the name means “at the place where the village once was” in the local Vlach dialect). Here, the funeral slabs and stones made of sedimentary river stone, which only by a great effort of thought could be described as funeral crosses, are covered by moss and become less visible with every layer of leaves that falls from the oaks among which the graves are scattered. Recent graves are few; nowadays the other graveyard is used, with funeral monuments consisting of crosses and slabs of white marble, geometrically laid out, as may be seen in all the villages I visited in Macedonia.

The same disappearing traces of ethnicity may be discovered at the level of social organisation and of a number of cultural features. Marriages are in most cases exogamous. Endogamous couples are rather an exception¹⁰ and are composed

⁸ The door of the First World War museum is permanently open to visitors at weekends and on feast days. I remember that the first thing I was advised to do on my arrival at Skra was to visit this museum.

⁹ The fieldwork at Skra was carried out between 1st December 2011 and 16th April 2012, followed by many subsequent visits.

¹⁰ I could only find fewer than ten such couples.

of elderly people. In their turn, exogamously constituted couples in which both partners are Vlachs are not in a majority. At least as numerous are couples where there has been a marriage between a native and a non-Vlach partner from elsewhere, regardless of his origin: ντόπιος (“native”), Pontian, or from Asia Minor, etc.¹¹ However, at the kinship level, traces of a recent endogamous marriage pattern are still to be found: the entire village appears to be a large group formed in accordance with a criterion of kinship

Those families in which both partners are in employment do not live in Skra all the time. The vast majority of them have settled either in the small towns along the Axios river valley,¹² Axioupoli and Polikastro, 25 km SE of Skra, or in Thessaloniki, 80 km away, or in some other town where there are job opportunities. Living abroad is quite rare. People who have moved away return to the village only occasionally: for weekends, at major festivals and for holidays. It is perhaps for this reason that the settlement has acquired the air of a holiday destination.

These two factors – the mixed profile of families and the fact of extra-local residence – contribute to the education of children in which the language used is modern Greek. Although they spend their holidays at Skra, nowadays the children neither speak nor understand the Vlach language. As a generalisation, people of local provenance aged over fifty can easily use βλαχικά (the Vlach language), while those between thirty and fifty have some competence in using this language and those aged under thirty are not able to use the Latin dialect at all.

Architecture, clothes and textiles all follow the same logic of ethnic evolution. The houses of today – the architecture of which has been so greatly changed that they look like pretty holiday villas, resembling the houses in Plagia and Fanos¹³ – have resulted from the modification or extension of three-roomed houses. All of these were built by the Greek government at the beginning of the 1950s in order that civil war refugees could return home from the towns in the valley. One could not say that the building of these houses followed a traditional Vlach architectural style. Houses with the same plan and architecture can be found at Evzonoi, a village where the majority population is from Pontus.

As for “traditional” clothes, I did not find a single such garment. Neither did I find any old photographs from which this type of costume could be studied, whether the festival or the everyday type, as worn in the years before the Second World War or perhaps a short time afterwards. While I happened to be watching (at a tavern in the *plateia*) the popular television show Κυριακή στο χωριό (“Sunday in the village”) shown on the ET 3 channel, then being transmitted from the village of

¹¹ Greek populations moved from Turkey to Greece as a consequence of the Treaty of Lausanne (1923).

¹² A river that rises in the F.Y.R.O.M. (where it is known as the Vardari) enters Greece at Evzonoi and flows into the Aegean west of Thessaloniki.

¹³ Villages lying 15 km east of Skra, toward Evzonoi, and populated by people from Asia Minor.

Klisoura in the prefecture of Kastoria, somebody pointed out that the traditional clothes worn by the dancers were Vlach and had once existed in Skra too.

Some textiles formerly woven on looms in the village are still to be found. In spite of this, no interest exists in their preservation, much less in their being exhibited as markers of a particular ethnic identity. I could find such textiles in evidence as bedclothes or floorcoverings in only one of all the houses I visited, the home of an old woman. In the house where I stayed, and in another inhabited by a friend and informant, textiles woven on looms in the village (but with models the provenance of which can more confidently be considered regional, and in any case Vlach) were kept in storerooms. The conditions under which they were kept were quite unsuitable, as if it would be no great loss if they were to rot.

In the past three decades, so-called πολιτιστικοί σύλλογοι (cultural assemblies / associations) have been founded and set up in places all over Greece to preserve and promote the traditional music and dances of different peoples and regions. These associations are having great success; almost every Greek is or has been a member of such an association. The public scene of their activities usually consists of performances at various community festivals (I mentioned the πανηγύρι in the previous section). It is well known that music and dance can have a powerful ethnic appeal, even when other markers of ethnic identity have become blurred. Thus, “the act of listening, dancing, arguing, discussing, thinking and writing about music, provide the means by which ethnicities and identities are constructed and mobilized” (Stokes, 1994: 5), in a context in which the music, as a collective activity, induces in the participants a powerful emotional experience of social identity (*ibidem*, 21). However, the activities of the Skra σύλλογος are insufficient to touch the chords of ethnicity. Any active preservation of local and regional music is lacking. If Vlach dances are (also) included in dance repertoires, these are dances that can be found all over Macedonia. One old man, not a member of the σύλλογος, was able to remember fragments of some “vlășești” (Vlach) songs. I do not have comparative benchmarks to allow me to tell whether these songs had a local or a general-regional circulation. All I can say is that he was the only person singing (or who wanted to sing) these songs whom I could find. Such a benchmark could have been provided by songs recorded “on a tape” in the neighbouring village, Koupa, also a part of the Skra κοινότητα¹⁴ and affected by the same processes of ethnic evolution. But the tape was nowhere to be found. Returning to the σύλλογος, its members meet for rehearsals extremely rarely, a few times a year, the most recent occasion known to me being before the performance celebrating the battle of Skra (May 2014).¹⁵ As for the costumes they were dressed in for this festival, the few dancers, whether adolescents or not, were not sure whether these were copies of costumes worn in the old days by their Skra παπούδες (“grandfathers”) and γιαγιάδες (“grandmothers”).

¹⁴ Κοινότητα, “community”, a minor administrative unit, headed by a πρόεδρος (“president”).

¹⁵ This paper was written in the autumn of 2014.

A DIALECTICS OF IDENTITY WITH TAKEN-FOR-GRANTED ASPECTS

The second and the third sections of this study have been devoted to facts. In them I have described the empirical grounds which support the dialectical relation announced in the title. I have tried to use a method of “statistical documentation by concrete evidence” (Malinowski, 1987: 22). This is an inductive method in which the appearances of phenomena are studied up until the point at which the conclusions (regardless of their nature) become self-evident, making any contrary hypothesis improbable. The method is well adapted to long-term fieldwork.¹⁶ Such fieldwork makes it possible to correct many errors in the very place where the data was collected. An additional advantage of proceeding in this way is that the time factor does not then act as an element of psychological pressure that brings with it the temptation to consider only facts that support the hypothesis while ignoring those that contradict it.

My title also announces the place of reference for the anchoring of the dialectical relation – a small Greek community – and the first two lines of the second section specify its size. I am thus allying myself with an anthropological tradition that favours ethnographical depiction of a *microscopic* type (Geertz, 1973: 21), in which “It is merely to say that the anthropologist characteristically approaches such broader interpretations and more abstract analyses from the direction of exceedingly extended acquaintances with extremely small matters” (*ibidem*). But I should make it clear that I do not intend this study to be a contribution to the analysis of the relation between national and ethnic *generally*. I am focusing on a *local* analysis of it, in which *the key to the relation lies in the local experiencing of ethnicity*.¹⁷ In the neighbouring village, Arhangelos, different ecological conditions could lead to a different experience. The analysis and the conclusions drawn from here can be used as a basis for generalisations about, say, the entire Vlach population of Greece *only with a very high degree of prudence*. It is safer to remain within the limits of a generalisation of the type “given conditions x, y, z... it is likely that phenomenon X will appear.”

Moreover, the facts described (mainly in the first section) are anthropologically irrelevant if they are not methodologically paralleled by what has been called the “everyday ethnicity approach” (Koziura, 2014: 2). Aspects of this approach have appeared chiefly in the third section. For the facts described in the second section, there is no need for these to have metonymic importance in local ethnicity. In the context of a dictatorial regime, for example, huge monuments

¹⁶ Malinowski founded this method in the wake of a fieldwork exercise of this kind.

¹⁷ This local experiencing is in its turn not uniform. I consider that anthropology has much to gain from its contact with the methods of sociology, according to which a social phenomenon must be approached by its reflection at the levels of social layers, classes, groups etc. However, I shall treat ethnicity in a synthetic way, being also helped, within the above-mentioned methodological framework, by the smallness of the Skra community.

could be built, but this would not reflect the ethnic and national-patriotic convictions of citizens.

On the basis of the facts recounted and within the specified methodological framework,¹⁸ it is possible to say that for the inhabitants of the small village of Skra – regardless of their degree of residence, temporary or permanent – *the national aspects are taken for granted in the dialectics of identity while the ethnic aspects do not form a category of relevance*. When talking about “national aspects”, these are not to be thought of as implying, without fail, a state ideology. On the contrary, the nation is one thing, the state is other: “Ellada is the most beautiful country. We have sea, sun, music, food. But we do not have politicians” (Petros). The state may or may not be worthy of a nation the identity poles of which are configured by Hellenic antiquity on the one hand and by the Roman and Byzantine inheritance on the other (Στρατουδάκι, 2014).¹⁹

This is not a unique phenomenon. Anthropological literature already records similar situations. For the inhabitants of the multi-ethnic Rize region of Turkey, ethnicity does not seem to be a major source of identity.²⁰ On the contrary, both *objectively* (through means of greater possibilities of communication and social mobility, by prosperity brought by the cultivation of tea etc.) and *subjectively* too, the inhabitants consider themselves as full members of the new national entity, the Gellnerian national model being thus confirmed (Hann, 2003: 5-6). In another study, this time not of regional but of local extension, in the city of Chernivtsi, Ukraine, it has been noticed that regardless of ethnos, Ukrainian, Romanian, Polish, Jewish, “in the everyday life, the marked category of ‘Ukrainianness’ became an unmarked and taken for granted category for ordinary people. [This] is a sign of the successful nationalizing efforts of the Ukrainian state” (Koziura, 2014: 14).

The frontal approach to ethnicity, so as to establish its importance in the identity dialectic on the basis of the relation between national and ethnic (a pairing that in studies of Southern Europe seems to exclude other theoretical alternatives [Şerban, 2007: 245]), confirms the conclusion from the observed facts. When children and young people socialized in mixed families (and the younger the population category, the more numerous these are) at Skra were asked about their ethnic identity affiliation, the answers given seem to show that this was an issue that was not of interest for them. These answers to “accidental” questions tend not to cluster around a common core. Some constants might be found by quantitative

¹⁸ Many other facts of observation could be added, but I have stopped short of including them, not wanting the study to be inductively overloaded.

¹⁹ That means that in the case of Greece the overlapping between *ethnic nation* and *political territorial nation* (an ideal situation in the theory of the nation expressed by Anthony D. Smith [1986]) is never complete, if we equate political territorial nation with the *state*. But the ideal situation never comes about. If the state does not properly perform its protective function, it risks losing the support of the members of the nation (Grosby, 2005: 26).

²⁰ For both Lazi and Hemşinli, “ethnic identity is not inherently more important for social organization than a local or geographical affiliation” (Hann, 2003: 13).

approaches, for example by means of a questionnaire. For the moment, all that can be said is that these young people are not preoccupied by a particular identity. Nor is national identity greatly emphasised either. This data must not be allowed to deceive us, if we take into account other observed facts too (only some have been set out in this study), and the conclusion is that it does not make sense to speak about national identity because this identity goes without saying.

The few conversations I had with parents about the identity of their children bring in as a novelty the involvement of kinship. Although family descent is patronymic, *emotionally* it is bound up with the name given to the newborn baby. Thus, he/she has to have the name of one of his/her grandparents. Sometimes quarrels may arise between them regarding the name, although some rules do exist; for example, the name of the first grandson has to be taken from the parents of the father. There is a question as to whether it is not the case that together with the name a part of the ethnicity of the grandfather also has to be taken on.

The conclusion to draw, following this approach, is that the ethnicity of the children of mixed marriages is uncertain.

ETHNICITY AT SKRA. LINES OF RESEARCH

While aspects of a national type are not problematic in the dialectics of identity,²¹ aspects of an ethnic type give birth to analytical impasses. These deserve, for this reason, a thorough treatment if we are to understand to what **degree they do not form an identity-dialectic category of relevance** for the community. This lack of relevance could have as an extreme consequence *identity resignation*. After an initial overview of the fieldwork data, the concept on which I decided to concentrate was that of “identity change”. A subsequent scientific paper was to focus on the description and analysis of this process. But Gheorghiță Geană (of the Francisc I. Rainer Anthropology Institute of the Romanian Academy), following a discussion in which the empirical sections of this study were briefly presented to him, advised me to speak directly about identity resignation. As a precedent, he gave me the example of some Romanian nobles who lived in Transylvania in the long period of Hungarian and Austrian domination. These people accepted Magyarization because they were attracted by the prospects for political, social and economic benefits this new identity would give them. Identity resignation, irrespective of its nature and causes, is not an entirely new or unusual thing.

The mode of thinking initiated in 1969 by Fredrik Barth makes me very cautious about assigning labels. That was the point when the equivalence between ethnic identity and cultural identity was questioned. In the introductory chapter (Barth, 1969a) of the collective volume *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries. The Social*

²¹ As long as one remembers to make an appropriate distinction between “nation” and “state”.

Organization of Culture Difference, the idea is advanced that some ethnic boundaries are maintained regardless of cultural changes and the movement of persons, so long as “ethnic groups are seen as a form of social organization” (*ibidem*, 13). The phenomenon can be read in the list of the characteristics of self-ascription and ascription by others (*ibidem*). Thus, the organizational sense of ethnicity does not directly depend on such cultural features as language, religion, myths, history etc. The chapters that make up the rest of the volume, as well as those of an anniversary volume published twenty-five years later, *The Anthropology of Ethnicity. Beyond ‘Ethnic Groups and Boundaries’*, are devoted to the development of this idea. Many social phenomena that function as ethnic boundaries are described, some of which in fact retrieve the culture: thus, ethnic groups are *social categories*, to which a certain *status* is given, with inter-ethnic relations organized on this basis (Eidheim, 1969: 39), and labels that can take the form of social stigma (*ibidem*, 40); hospitality (Haaland, 1969: 69-70); the assigning of particular social meanings to a limited set of actions (Blom, 1969: 74), in the context of occupying different ecological niches and the developing of certain symbiotic relationships as the result of a need for capital (*ibidem*, 79); competition within the same ecological niche can also produce a strengthening of some ethnic boundaries (Knutsson, 1969: 94-95); the over-communication of cultural differences (Henning, 1969: 101), with the consequence that the results of government policies of assimilation are limited (*ibidem*, 105-105); a number of value orientations (male autonomy, equality, aggressiveness etc.), which can be subsumed under the concept of honour (Barth, 1969b: 120); the common origin and consciousness of ethnic identity seen in migrant communities (Roosens, 1994), etc.

This rich variety of social situations which can represent so many ethnic boundaries inspired me to search for similar phenomena at Skra. Returning to the facts and observations, we should take account of the narration of some stories with historical-mythological associations and of references both to origins and to cross-border relatives, since these could represent lines of research by which the *past* might obtain the dignity of an ethnic boundary.²² Even if this dignity is an arguable one, we will surely discover the persistence of a “benign / gentle ethnicity”, recognizable in “the oral history area, the remembrance of the respective group origin, as well as in ad-hoc explanations through which the specific group explains its particular characteristics” (Şerban, 2007: 250, applying a concept taken from John Rex to the special case of minority groups in South-East Europe). Thus, maybe not coincidentally, at the outset of my fieldwork at Skra I was perceived as

²² Only the third line of research – which temporally is related rather to the present – sends us *ad litteram* to social organization. The first two are instances of cultural features. Barth’s theory does not eliminate such situations, inasmuch as differences are communicated through them, but deals with the special case of situations of inter-group *cultural transformations* and *cultural homogenization*. Social organization (Barth endeavours to make clear what is to be understood by this) is the reason why cultural homogenization does not represent, at the same time, ethnic homogenization as well.

being interested in the history of the village. In those first days I noticed the recurrence of one particular story. I reproduce it from my field journal: “Seven brothers dug the earth to cultivate potatoes. In another place, a mother and daughter in their turn dug to cultivate potatoes. A Turkish chieftain from Fanos (the neighbouring village to the east, then inhabited by Turks) came and kidnapped the girl, seeing that she was beautiful. The mother quickly ran to the brothers and told them what had happened. On hearing her story, the brothers ran speedily after the Turk. They caught him and killed him. In order not to be found by the Turks who were coming to look for the dead chieftain, they came down to Skra to hide among the houses and villagers. Skra was more extensive then than it is now.” The traces of this event are still present in local toponymy. A forest road which starts from Skra has as a landmark part-way along it a place named “Ἑπτὰ ἀδέρφια” (“Seven brothers”). Another place called “Grupul Coinarului” in the local Vlach dialect marks the spot where the Turk is supposed to have been killed. Also, the seven brothers would have been buried in the old cemetery. Now this story is compatible with three types of identity: local, ethnic and national.²³ It can be placed in a historical series the core of which is represented by the struggle of the Hellenic people for national status, independence and territorial reintegration. The story begins with the struggle against Ottoman domination (inaugurated by the Revolution of 1821) and continues with the Balkan Wars, the two World Wars and the Greek Civil War. The resistance to the military junta in the years from 1967 and 1974 can also be included. The series, as we have pointed out, is very well represented at Skra.

But the reference to origins doubtless instantiates the core of a possible ethnic boundary related to a specific past. The genealogical discourse, in all its forms, has autochthonic stresses. The Vlachs of Skra and Koupa have always been there, unlike Vlachs in other villages of the region. Those in Livadhia would have come from Moskopoli (Albania). The Vlachs of Arhangelos and Perikleia must also have different origins, as they speak a dialect that has more in common with Romanian.²⁴ Irrefutable evidence of this is provided by a marble plaque found when excavations were being carried out in order to build the Skra school building. It is inscribed in Latin and the wording includes the name Marcus Evrilus. This

²³ The category of narrations with historical-mythological associations also includes the one regarding the provenance of the flags used in the procession held on the second day of Easter. This is also compatible with the three types of identity. But Maria G. Papagheorghiou's *Tales. From the tales of the ancient lost Hellenic poetic operas and other tales of the Vlachophone village of Skra (Liumnița)* (Thessaloniki, 1984) refers us, by its very title, to ethnic identity. I very seldom heard the villagers talking about this. Another book by the same author, *Opinions on the “Cross” on the graves in Skra* (Ed. Purnara, Thessaloniki, 1976), despite my best efforts, was nowhere to be found in Skra.

²⁴ The ethno-logical consequence of these beliefs is that it is not possible to speak of a homogeneous ethno-cultural and linguistic group, that of the *Meglen Vlachs* (much less to use the name of *Megleno-Romanians*, preferred by linguists), as it exists in literature. In the entire duration of my fieldwork, I met this designation only once, on a flyer advertising a hostel in Arhangelos.

plaque is now in the museum in Kilkis, the main town of the prefecture. In another version, told by the dentist Trifon from Koupa, the opinions of a historian are invoked. In this account, the Vlachs there are descendants of Roman soldiers who guarded *Egnatia Odhos* [the Via Egnatia], the road that led from Constantinople to Illyria, part of present-day Albania. They married native woman and settled in the area. The local language was formed as a consequence of this.

The references to origins exclude any direct kinship relation to the Romanian people. The relation can be at most an indirect one, with the Vlachs being a people sprung from the same Latin root. The similarities with Romanian often seem to be “curiosities”. Local opinion frequently expresses the conviction that linguistic connections with Romanian are no more important than connections with Italian, or even with French. In any event, language cannot represent an important criterion of ethnicity. The idea derived from this empirical ground is also to be found in Anthony Smith’s ethnic theory (1986: 27). But here, by contrast, language differences do not necessarily signify differences of ethnicity.

There is a third line of research that can also be linked to the category of the past as an ethnic boundary, but this is one that goes beyond the limits of a local ethnicity. Mentioning my Romanian national identity led to my being informed by villagers about their relatives living in Romania, especially in Cerna, a village in the Tulcea district. These relatives would have gone to Romania on a migration trail that began in 1926 and would have been relying on promises of a better life. The huge plane tree in the *plateia* of Skra is said to have been planted then. The maintaining (often the discovery) of these kinship relations both in Skra and in other villages, for example in Arhangelos, is often of great interest.²⁵

All these three lines of research, which instantiate the past as a possible ethnic boundary, are opened up by processes of *auto-ascription*. A move towards *hetero-ascription* might have as a result another constellation of ethnic circumscription. As

²⁵ I was to observe the same interest during a short visit to Cerna, on which occasion I was accompanied by an “arumun” (a member of another Vlach population in Greece) from Agrinio (150 km west of Athens, on the continental side of Greece). Seeing us, some people from one neighbourhood shared with us their desire to renew contact with their relatives in Greece, or their happiness where these links had already been re-established. Stelu Șerban (2007: 244) refers to a situation of “self-construction of ethnicity [that] affectively implies different ethnic groups that live together”, addressing here the special case of some communities of *Rudari* (gypsies) in Bulgaria. But the phenomenon needs to be considered in conjunction with some processes of pragmatic order. This self-construction implies emotional reactions in the face of myths of origins, oral histories, value judgements regarding the Other, etc. However, in the case of the present study, the engaging of kinship confers on the process a more literal meaning. Institutionally, Șerban evokes a “top-down” situation. But for a solid ethnic consciousness, my case has a “bottom-up” aspect. A parallel regarding the construction of a national consciousness for the Romanian people is to be found in Gheorghiu Geană’s theory. The elite, in their endeavour to promote a sense of nationhood, were working on a soil of national consciousness already prepared by the regular meeting of the different Romanian populations at two or three folk fairs held on the ridge of the Carpathians (Geană, 2006).

Roger Brubaker (2006) observes,²⁶ ethnicity is a topic people seldom speak about; however, it can be deduced from stereotypes and prejudices. The present case invokes the special force of stereotypes and prejudices regarding the Other. The local ethnicity I am concerned with is treated in an indirect way; we are not dealing with a merely regional ethnicity. These stereotypes target all the Vlachs in Greece. Their common feature is the *poor populational status* given to Latinophone communities. I will establish my theory by using data gathered in Evzonoi.²⁷

Evzonoi is a border village, not much greater in population than Skra. It is affected by the same process of migration, with people looking for jobs in the small cities of Polikastro and Axioupoli, or further away in Thessaloniki.²⁸ The few families of Pontians who arrived here at the beginning of the 1920s have over the course of time replaced the local population, the Pontians being today in the majority. My study includes both categories.

In their gentle form, the stereotypes regarding Vlachs have hospitality as a subject. "People are not the same everywhere. People of one kind are here, people of a different kind are there", I was warned by Stratos when he heard that I was going to Skra for the winter. "Do they treat you there?" I am asked by Thanasis in one of my short returns to Evzonoi. "Better here!" Andronicos concludes. In fact, hospitality seems to be a key identity benchmark for a Pontian or a person from Asia Minor, a visiting card often ostentatiously displayed: "Not to say later you had gone to the Pontians and they didn't treat you" (unknown person, Rodhohori, Nousa prefecture). This shows that the Vlachs' hospitality model does not match that of the Pontians.

Although in a gentle form, answers do appear when we ask for an ad-hoc estimate of the level of prestige enjoyed by Vlachs. I asked Panaiotis (aged 31, unmarried) to locate the Vlachs on a scale of the social prestige of Hellenic populations. He located them without hesitation in bottom place. He would never marry a Vlach woman. However, there is general agreement regarding the superior beauty of these women.

In a more poignant tone, we may find both deprecatory allusions to the Vlachs' character, and stereotypes of derision: "The Vlachs are *πονηροί άνθρωποι*" ("disingenuous people"), according to Evripidis, and I heard him say so many times. I also had an opportunity to verify the power of this prejudice at the level of behaviour. A quarrel between an elderly married couple was related to the issue of buying or not buying potatoes from a Vlach who was selling them on the streets of

²⁶ Quoted by Karolina Koziura, 2014: 3.

²⁷ The second place where I lived for a considerable period during my Greek fieldwork, for two and a half months before Skra and two weeks afterwards. Thanks are due to Father Mihai Savu, the priest in Evzonoi, for his assistance.

²⁸ This situation is also to be found in the villages of Fanos and Plagia, localities in between Skra and Evzonoi, inhabited by descendants of Greeks who arrived here from Asia Minor (especially from present-day Izmir) as a result of population movements that began in 1923.

Evzonoi. The facial expression of the wife left me in no doubt regarding the true reason behind her refusal. Something had to be wrong with the potatoes, since they were being sold by a Vlach.

Two pieces of local folklore reveal stereotypes of derision related to Vlachs. I was only able to gather these after a long period during which the researcher and some members of the local community became familiar with one another. One joke describes the way one Vlach discovered counting (in his language): “He found out one, two, as far as nine. But he did not know what to call *ten*. Then a donkey farted and it sounded like <<zafe>>. In this way he found out *ten*.” Or, “When a Vlach farts, he looks behind him to see if it is big!”

However, I did not notice any cases of spontaneous ripostes of the Vlachs from Skra (or anywhere else) to these stereotypes, prejudices or attitudes, as if they were not conscious of their existence. When I stirred the situation, the reactions were at rather a low level: “Pontians have big heads.” For my area of interest, any spontaneous answers would have been very significant: they would have marked the ethnic boundary with maximum clarity.

FINAL REFLECTIONS

While the majority of the people groups distributed across the territory of Greece historically regard themselves as being *Hellenic populations*, the Vlachs belong to a population category (in which can also be included, for example, the Turks of the western part of Thrace) with a different provenance. This category is in the first place linguistically marked. Hence the relation between national and ethnic,²⁹ in which the national (marked in the present case by the Hellenic ideal) is something other than the ethnic, takes on the appearance of a *dialectical relation* in the identity equation. It is therefore right to speak not about an *identity dynamics* (valid when the two terms are one and the same) but about an *identity dialectics*. This study adds to a series in which the dialectic evolves without tensions: *the national is taken into account, while the ethnic is deprived of relevance*. Unlike the previously mentioned studies by Chris Hann and Karolina Koziura, which are largely concerned with throwing light on the nature of the national “taken for granted / goes without saying”, my research points to the other term of the relation. It focuses on the *degree* to which the ethnic is deprived of relevance. Situations of

²⁹ A relation that cannot be neglected in contemporary studies on the subject of ethnicity. Barth (1994: 20-21), re-examining his initial theory, adds that such a study must take into account the connexions between three levels: micro, medium and macro. The first is embodied by the individual, the second by the collective, and the third by the state (and the last of these – *pace* all the objections that might be raised – can be assimilated to the nation). He remarks that most studies of ethnicity focus on the medium level. The present enterprise belongs to a category that is concerned with connections between the medium and macro levels.

“wholly relevant” or “thoroughly deprived of relevance” are quite few in number.³⁰ The identification of some ethnic boundaries is a good indicator in this regard. Primordialist theoretical approaches cannot accommodate cases of the irrelevance of the ethnic. Situationalist approaches, in which “the ethnic groups and their features are produced [“activated”, could also be used, *my addition*, S. Ș.] under particular interactional, historical, economic and political circumstances” (Barth, 1994: 12), can do this. Moreover, when situationalism takes the form of *instrumentalism*³¹ – the gaining of benefits on ethnic grounds – we have an indication that the degree of irrelevance is low.

In the case of a local approach to ethnicity that I am concerned with, *the degree of irrelevance of the ethnic is a high one*. It is less high from the point of view of a hetero-ascription. But this hetero-ascription occupies second place in the internal experiencing of ethnicity. From the other perspective, related to auto-ascription, the possibilities of the appearance of certain presumptive ethnic boundaries – with the possible exception of cross-border kinship – anchored in the *past* are not incompatible with a national logic based on unilateral contradiction (Noica, 1986: 46). Katherine Verdery (1994: 46), commenting on Brackette F. Williams (1989), observed that the latest trend in *homogenization* imposed by the state is to give “socio-political significance to the fact of difference”. These differences may be concerned with “ethnicity, gender, locality, class, sexuality and race” (*ibidem*). The mode of action of the unilateral contradiction is that if the differences contradict the ideal of state-national homogenization, the State, for its part, does not contradict them. The diversity follows the vector of national homogenization, in spite of an apparent lack of unity. Thus, the particular past of the Skra community, even if it seems to be incompatible with a Hellenic national ideal, is recovered in this way in a synthesis of homogeneity. This is the same phenomenon as occurs, for example, in the case of every community of Pontians with a three-thousand-year history in the southern and eastern parts of the Black Sea area. In the thinking of Constantin Noica, all these are particulars contributing towards the national general. In fact we meet here the ideology of multiculturalism. But the multicultural policies of the Greek government regarding the Vlachs are in line with the observation that multiculturalism does not always mean

³⁰ Here we may see one of the differences between the anthropologist and the journalist. The latter readily uses labels (for example “fundamentalist”, “extremist”, “separatist” etc.) to characterize whole communities and populations. The former knows from his experience that the bracket of uniformity must be employed only with great caution.

³¹ The papers by Stelu Șerban and Karolina Koziura (also) adopt this approach. For Stelu Șerban, the receiving of political support on an ethnic basis (although here the ethnic is not without relevance), for Karolina Koziura, the gaining of benefits of a different nature (for example, having an identity as a Romanian or Pole in the Ukrainian context facilitates access to the European job market. The Romanian people’s ethnically grounded protest against military mobilization to take part in events in the east of Ukraine in 2014 would have been another valuable piece of evidence for Koziura’s position).

multilingualism (Schöpflin, 2010: 200). Whole population segments – as is the case of the village of Skra, for reasons that seem phenomenally internal³² – are thus deprived of an essential instrument of “cultural reproduction” (*ibidem*, 201).³³

In this context, the Greek government encourages the promotion (and where this is possible, revitalization) of “traditions”. The so-called cultural associations (πολιτιστικοί σύλλογοι) are very active in this regard, especially in relation to dance and music. The poor functioning of the Skra σύλλογος represents a significant indicator of what we have called the degree of irrelevance of the ethnic. In these circumstances, Gheorghiță Geană would not be going very far wrong were he to speak of ethnic resignation.³⁴

The only realm in which it is still possible to stimulate high ethnic consciousness and a low degree of irrelevance is, in the end, cross-border kinship. I would prefer to consider this aspect of local ethnicity as part of regional ethnicity (also), for the reason that I do not at this point have a detailed picture of this phenomenon at Skra.³⁵

The existence of relatives living in Romania is a contingent fact. But the linguistic kinship of the Vlach language with Romanian seems to be an argument for an ethnic kinship, as it is for Romanian scholars in their studies of various topics relating to the Vlachs (hence also the unproblematic use of such terms as *Megleno-Romanians*, *aRomanians* etc.). But in the local and regional context of ethnicity this kinship is ruled out. As far as I know, the same could also be said about other Latinophone populations (Aromanians / Sarakatsani etc.) in Greece. For this reason, any attempt by the Romanian state to have these populations recognised as Romanian minorities will be rejected by the populations themselves and will create tensions in its relations with the Greek state. In the memory of people over seventy-five years old there are still images of a Romanian school that was opened at Skra in the early 'forties. These memories do not seem to have any ethnic resonance. They are recollections brought to light in a childlike manner.³⁶ But a pamphlet by Dimitrios Drogidhis, a short biography of the schoolmistress Vasiliki Papathanasiou, killed by communist αντάρτες on 13th November 1946, a

³² See the small fragment on native language in the third section.

³³ George Schöpflin makes these observations when considering the special case of immigrant cultures.

³⁴ According to Vintilă Mihăilescu (National School of Political Science and Public Administration, Bucharest / personal communication), an expression such as “irrelevance of the ethnic” must be introduced only with great caution. A parallel analysis of the political context, for instance, could be compatible with the introduction of different concepts, such as “silent” or “hidden” (ethnic) identity (here we remember the Greek crypto-Christians in the time of the Ottoman Empire, who had a public religious identity as Muslims). Similarly “identity resignation” could more correctly be regarded as “identity duality”, in the opinion of my wife Anișoara Ștefănuță, an ethnographer.

³⁵ A study of this topic would most probably be conclusive in assessing the degree of irrelevance.

³⁶ For one of my informants, the presence of a Romanian was a good opportunity to recite the first lines of a short poem learnt at the Romanian school, “Puppy with a curly coat”. But this was rendered in a jokey manner, to entertain his hearers.

pamphlet that can be seen as belonging to the category of national-intellectual discourse, bears strong indications of the rejection of any kind of Romanianism. Thus, Papathanasiou's heroic predecessor, the schoolmaster Haralambos Gartsios, "was killed in 1913 by the agents of Romanian and Bulgarian propaganda" (Δρογίδης, 1996: 8). The schoolmistress Papathanasiou is regarded as an apostle of illumination for the ξενοφώνων κατοίκων ("inhabitants speaking a foreign language") (*ibidem*, 13) and a representative of a "wronged generation who saw *Elladha* battling against the enemies (Bulgarians, Italians, Romanians and Germans) of that epoch" (*ibidem*, 5). The name "Vlach" as a description of the inhabitants of Skra is to be found nowhere in the pamphlet. Through her death, Vasiliki Papathanasiou becomes a symbol of the entire *Greek people*, a "symbol of the unity of Greece that has given to the foreigners the values of the humanities" (*ibidem*, 1).

Future studies will need to focus in depth on the causes that have resulted in the relation between national and ethnic in the dialectics of identity that we have shown to be the case at Skra. The causes taken into consideration may be diverse: migration (to Germany in the early 1960s, towards urban areas today), mixed marriages, the fact of periods marked by a government policy of the repression of local languages and Latinophone manifestations, etc. All that can for the moment be said is that for the inhabitants of this small Hellenic village "the nation is a social relation of collective self-consciousness" (Grosby, 2005: 10). But – unlike the content of this self-consciousness for Grosby – although we are differentiated by language, historical tradition, etc., we all contribute to the building of the same national ideal.

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È LA “TRADIZIONE” ANCORA BUONA DA PENSARE? RIFLESSIONI CRITICHE SU UNA NOZIONE CONTROVERSA

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Abstract. The general aim of this article is to reflect critically on the notion of tradition. This is done through an assessment of the pertinent literature, and a discussion on historical and ethnographic case studies. The article is divided into four chapters: the first one summarises the most important studies and debates where the notion of tradition is discussed in the fields of history, anthropology, and folkloristics; the second and the third ones challenge some rather radical conclusions on tradition that have been advocated by some Italian and French scholars working on the notion of tradition as well as on social facts usually qualified as traditional; in the fourth chapter I offer some further considerations, both theoretically and ethnographically informed, about how and why, in spite of the deconstruction it has been the object of in recent years, tradition could still be used as an analytical notion in historical and anthropological sciences.

Keywords: tradition, anthropology, ethnology, historical anthropology, folklore, theory in anthropological sciences, modernity and post-modernity, Europe.

DALLA TRADIZIONE ALL’INVENZIONE DELLA TRADIZIONE

Quello di tradizione è un concetto stratificato, abusato persino, già definito “problematico e polisemico”¹, “ambiguo e fuorviante”² o addirittura “urticante”³. È quindi d’uopo, a mo’ di incipit, definirne meglio i contorni teorici e gli usi che lo caratterizzano nella storia degli studi.

Si tratta di una nozione la cui stessa etimologia tradisce una relazione con il passato e con il concetto di trasmissione: nel passaggio dal latino alle lingue neolatine (ma anche al Tedesco e all’Inglese), il termine ha mantenuto pressoché intatto il suo significato principale e basilare, che si riferisce a “ciò che si

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¹ Dei, Simonica 1998: 109.

² Faeta 2011b: 136.

³ Palumbo 2009: 48.

tramanda”⁴. Le tradizioni sarebbero dunque i tipici fenomeni sociali che si situano sull’asse della diacronia. Non sorprende quindi la constatazione che, oltre a esser sempre state oggetto di investigazione di etnologi e antropologi, la tradizione e le tradizioni abbiano suscitato un particolare interesse presso gli storici e gli studiosi afferenti a discipline alla frontiera tra storia e scienze sociali, come la storia culturale, il folklore (o la demologia, per utilizzare la dicitura italiana), e la storia delle religioni.

È invece necessario considerare, ora, che se da un lato è all’interno di questa cornice teorica che va compreso *un certo tipo* di studio della tradizione e delle tradizioni, specie in Europa e specie se europee, dall’altro le discussioni sulla tradizione non si esauriscono affatto alla problematica appena esposta. Al contrario, il dibattito, proprio come nel caso della nozione di cultura, è stato negli ultimi trentacinque anni all’incirca particolarmente ricco e fecondo, sebbene talvolta funestato da una eccessiva polarizzazione delle diverse posizioni teoriche e correnti di pensiero. Proprio come la nozione di cultura, inoltre, quella di tradizione è stata oggetto, grossomodo nello stesso arco di tempo, di un profondo ripensamento.

Uno tra i primi e i più importanti passi verso tale ripensamento non fu intrapreso da filosofi o antropologi, come ci si potrebbe aspettare, bensì da un gruppo di storici – certo fortemente influenzati da altre scienze sociali, e da Marx – che prepararono un saggio che all’epoca della pubblicazione fece scalpore e che da allora è rimasto giustamente celebre: *L’invenzione della tradizione*⁵.

⁴ Il termine proviene dal verbo latino *tradere*, che vuol dire, tra le altre cose, “trasmettere”, “tramandare”.

⁵ Hobsbawm, Ranger 2002 (1983). In realtà, già negli anni ’50, ’60 e ’70 diversi studiosi avevano affrontato in termini critici e teoricamente maturi la questione della natura e delle proprietà dei fatti tradizioni, spesso in aperto contrasto con visioni più semplicistiche e acritiche, o peggio ideologicamente orientate. Si possono qui ricordare le precoci e acute osservazioni – sebbene riferite pressoché unicamente a esempi africani – contenute nel celebre libro di etnometodologia *De la tradition orale*, del belga J. Vansina (Vansina 1961), oppure il di poco più tardo dibattito, nato e sviluppatosi all’interno del mondo accademico tedesco (ma pochi anni dopo ripreso anche altrove in Europa e negli Stati Uniti), sul cosiddetto “folklorismo” e sulla “autenticità” delle tradizioni popolari, e che vide contrapposti da un lato Hans Moser, dall’altro Hermann Bausinger (i termini di questo dibattito sono riassunti e discussi in Bendix 1997: 177-185 e in Tauschek 2011: 57-59; va ricordato che esso prendeva a sua volta le mosse dalle osservazioni di molto precedenti di R. Dorson sul “Fake lore” [Dorson 1950]). In Italia, negli stessi anni, si andava affermando una solida e ramificata branca di studi sulle tradizioni orali caratteristiche del mondo contadino “subalterno” italiano, corrente in larga parte – ma non esclusivamente – ispirata dalle riflessioni di Antonio Gramsci sulla cultura popolare. Anche se in termini e con finalità euristiche (e politiche) abbastanza diverse da quelle che alimentavano, grosso modo negli stessi anni, gli studi sopra ricordati, una riflessione sulla tradizione si rintraccia anche in questa temperie di ricerca tutta italiana. Due *summae* esaurienti e teoricamente convincenti dei dibattiti e delle questioni sulle tradizioni (popolari) che animarono, tra gli anni ’40 e gli anni ’70, l’allora giovane demologia italiana, si trovano in Cirese 1973 e in Clemente, Meoni, Squillaciotti 1976. Tuttavia – e al netto dell’indubbia e importante influenza delle summenzionate precedenti esperienze di riflessione sulla tradizionalità – è a mio avviso solo con il testo edito da Hobsbawm e Ranger che tutta una serie di nodi sia teorici che storici vengono affrontati per la prima volta, e in modo convincente, ciò che permise sia di ripensare vecchi problemi che di modellarne di

Per ‘tradizione inventata’ si intende un insieme di pratiche, in genere regolate da norme apertamente o tacitamente accettate, e dotate di una natura rituale o simbolica, che si propongono di inculcare determinati valori e norme di comportamento ripetitive nelle quali è automaticamente implicita la continuità col passato. [...] Vogliamo sostenere, insomma, che l’invenzione di una tradizione è essenzialmente un processo di ritualizzazione e formalizzazione caratterizzato dal riferimento al passato, se non altro perché impone ripetitività⁶.

I saggi contenuti in questo libro ponevano il problema della tradizione sotto una nuova luce. Essi, basati su solide e originali indagini storiche, proponevano un approccio all’epoca decisamente innovativo. La stagione di graduale ma inesorabile de-reificazione della tradizione aveva così inizio, ed essa perdeva definitivamente il suo statuto ontologico di “essenza” delle cose per esser ricondotta a una dimensione storica e processuale.

Il libro curato da E. Hobsbawm e T. Ranger interpellava apertamente dei temi – per la precisione quelli legati al nazionalismo e alla costruzione dell’identità – che di lì a poco sarebbero diventati convenzionali, per non dire di moda, nell’antropologia, e non è un caso che esso fu presto apprezzato e utilizzato soprattutto da antropologi. Del resto l’antropologia (così come la storia delle religioni, che però captò e partecipò al dibattito con un certo ritardo), vantava tra i propri padri fondatori degli studiosi che si erano ampiamente occupati proprio di tradizioni popolari e religiose (si pensi a figure come Mannhardt, Lang, e, soprattutto, Frazer)⁷.

Di lì a poco, altri studi contribuirono alla ridefinizione delle problematiche concernenti la tradizione come pratica sociale e quindi come oggetto di conoscenza antropologica. Più che all’invenzione della tradizione *per se*, maggiore attenzione si cominciò a dedicare alla costruzione di specifiche tradizioni, e ai meccanismi sociali e culturali, etnograficamente osservabili e interpretabili, inerenti a tale processo⁸. La teoresi riguardo ai fenomeni tradizionali trasse gran giovamento da

nuovi. È questo testo che getta una luce che illuminerà da allora in poi gran parte della successiva teoresi sulla tradizione e la tradizionalità, così come lo studio di concreti fatti tradizionali.

⁶ Hobsbawm 2002a: 3 e 6.

⁷ La relazione genetica e di complementarità tra la teoria dei fatti tradizionali e lo studio delle tradizioni popolari in quella disciplina che in Europa ha assunto diversi nomi (tra cui “demologia” o “storia delle tradizioni popolari”, “Folklore” o “Folkloristics”, “Volkskunde”, “Ethnologie de l’Europe”) meriterebbe di esser qui discussa maggiormente. Purtroppo, ragioni di spazio non permettono di sviluppare tale argomento al di là di questa breve menzione in nota. Lo scrivente lo ha tuttavia affrontato sistematicamente altrove: Testa 2014a: 21-32; sulla questione cfr. anche Clemente, Mugnaini 2001, Dei 2002 e Dei 2012: 120-123; si vedano anche gli studi citati in nota n. 5 di questo scritto.

⁸ L’invenzione della tradizione come problematica antropologica e come oggetto di etnografia è stata una questione visitata anche in Italia, sebbene con significativo ritardo (cfr. Clemente 2005, Faeta 2005, Palumbo 2006a, 2009, Poppi 1992, Pizza 2004). Sulla ragione di questo e di altri italiani “ritardi”, Cfr. Faeta 2011a e Palumbo 2009: pp. 12-69.

questa temperie culturale. In pochi anni, da oggetto statico, a-temporale, reificato e ripetitivo per eccellenza, la tradizione divenne, ben al contrario, “an ongoing interpretation of the past”, anzi un vero e proprio “model of the past”, per citare le due interessanti e precoci ri-concettualizzazioni di R. Handler e J. Linnekin⁹: da oggetto veicolante soltanto forme, simboli e significati di lunga durata a catalizzatore culturale attraverso il quale si esprimerebbero le relazioni di potere, si legittimerebbero le poetiche sociali, si negozierebbero rivendicazioni politiche e identitarie, si drammatizzerebbero passioni religiose. Per questo, dall’interesse per la teoria della tradizione si passò presto allo studio della pratica, con particolare attenzione alle forme effettive e processuali della eventuale invenzione, della trasmissione e del cambiamento delle tradizioni. Anche in questo caso, tuttavia, l’esperienza degli storici e la curiosità degli antropologi interessati alla storia fu dirimente, visto che lo studio delle forme di una pratica sociale che si tramanda del tempo non può che giovare del ricorso ai metodi dell’indagine storica:

It would be a mistake to see the invention of a tradition as a process of creation *ex nihilo*. In fact, Eric Hobsbawm already noted ‘the use of ancient materials’ in his introduction to *The Invention of Tradition*. [...] I should like to suggest that what was traditionally described as the transmission of a tradition (or, as Bourdieu called it, ‘cultural reproduction’) is more a process of ‘continuous creation’. Whatever the would-be transmitters think they are doing, the process of passing a culture on to a new generation is necessarily one of reconstruction, of what Lévi-Strauss called *bricolage* and Certeau [sic] ‘re-employment’. The process is driven in part by the need to adapt old ideas to new circumstances, in part by the tensions between traditional forms and new messages, in part by what has been called ‘the inner conflict of tradition’, the conflict between the attempt to find universal solutions for human problems and the necessities or the logic of the situation¹⁰.

⁹ Handler, Linnekin 1984: 274 e 276.

¹⁰ Burke 2008: 101. Simili considerazioni in Wolf 2001b: 354: “tradition is not a corpus of objects, acts and ideas handed down integrally from ancestors to descendants. Its components are more often invented, rearranged, and reorchestrated in transfers from generation than fixed and immemorial”. Orientato verso una messa in luce degli aspetti creativi e immaginativi della tradizione è anche il saggio introduttivo di S. Bonner (Bonner 2000). Del resto già alla fine dell’800 lo scrittore e critico William Morris osservava che “change is the natural state of tradition” (citato in Glassie 1995: 405). Per J. C. Heesterman, la tradizione si costituirebbe come esito di un conflitto ideologico tra l’immaginazione di un ideale ordine immanente e il vissuto radicato nel mondo reale del cambiamento (Heesterman 1985: 2-15). Per R. Hutton, “tradition is a process of inherent adaptation and mutation” (Hutton 2008: 267; cfr. le pp. 266-269 per le interessanti considerazioni di Hutton sulla dimensione processuale della tradizione). La questione del rapporto tra rotture storiche, mutamenti sociali e tradizione è brevemente ma efficacemente compendiata in Dei 2012: 21. Anche se non nei termini di una discussione sulla tradizione, una parte della produzione di M. Sahlins affronta apertamente queste problematiche (cfr. Sahlins 1981, 1985 e 1999). Un testo molto interessante, ma

Non è un caso che nel brano appena citato Burke interpellasse, nello spazio di poche righe, studiosi apparentemente molto diversi tra loro come Hobsbawm, Bourdieu, de Certeau e Lévi-Strauss: si tratta di studiosi accomunati dall'interesse per le forme della trasmissione del sapere – e di ciò che, insieme al sapere, può essere veicolato nel tempo, come la condizione sociale, o le strutture –, tra cui quelle “tradizionali” costituiscono una classe privilegiata¹¹.

Al sapere è d'altronde collegata una dimensione che negli studi antropologici e storico-antropologici è andata assumendo sempre maggiore importanza, negli ultimi decenni: quella del potere, e in effetti per ciò che concerne gli studi sulla tradizione e i fatti tradizionali attenzione particolare è stata dedicata alle relazioni tra questa dimensione e quella delle forme politiche moderne e contemporanee, occidentali e non, legate al nazionalismo e alle identità nazionali. Al riguardo è da segnalare tanto un particolare interesse per le dinamiche storiche di sviluppo delle identità nazionali sulla base delle tradizioni, quanto un ancora più marcato interesse per quei processi, attivi nel presente ed etnograficamente osservabili, di costruzione e negoziazione ideologica e culturale di quelle stesse identità¹². Questa tematica di studi e i suoi prodotti hanno costituito un set di strumenti e conclusioni molto importanti, anzi imprescindibili.

Il ruolo della tradizione come modello ideologico del passato nel modellamento e nell'attivazione di strategie culturali e politiche di vario tipo non può più esser disconosciuto. In particolare, è da mettere in evidenza il ruolo giocato dalla invenzione delle tradizioni come espediente finalizzato al raggiungimento di determinati fini da parte di individui o gruppi sociali. Negli ultimi anni è emersa con veemenza, più specificamente, la tematica del potere. Al riguardo F. Faeta ha scritto:

poco noto in Italia, su quelli che si potrebbero definire i “meccanismi della tradizione” (filiazione, ricezione, trasmissione, riproduzione, manipolazione, innovazione, legittimazione, consenso, dissenso, rifiuto) è il saggio “Tradition” di E. Shils (Shils 2012: 45-120; in particolare, per una teorizzazione di tali “meccanismi” inerenti ai processi tradizionali e di tradizionalizzazione, cfr. Prandi 2012: 26-32 e Glassie 1995).

¹¹ Per ragioni di spazio e coerenza tematica, non si discuterà qui delle forme di tradizionalismo consapevole – cioè consapevole di essere tale –, spesso legate a correnti di pensiero reazionarie, religiose quando non esoteriche. Una lista ideale sarebbe molto lunga e potrebbe comprendere numerosi casi, dal “Tradizionalismo” evoliano e della destra spirituale europea, alla “filosofia perennis” di René Guénon, Ananda Coomaraswamy ed Elémire Zolla, al fondamentalismo cattolico di matrice lefebvriana. In queste tradizioni, la tradizione è non solo reificata, ma anche spiritualizzata. È comunque da notare, in questa sede, che in Italia un esemplare esempio di decostruzione storico-letteraria di saperi tradizionali – o presunti tali – “alti” si rintraccia precocemente: *Il pendolo di Foucault* di U. Eco (Eco 1988).

¹² Di questi argomenti hanno scritto sia storici che antropologi fortemente legati alla storia: cfr. Dietler 1994, Hobsbawm 2002b, Morgan 2002. In particolare, però, è stata l'antropologia politica, della (post-)modernità e delle società complesse, a partire dagli anni '80 (con un precedente: Boissvain 1975), ad approfondire l'analisi delle relazioni tra fatti culturali e sociali “tradizionali” e fenomeni come il nazionalismo, la costruzione delle identità e delle poetiche nazionali, le burocrazie e agenzie nazionali e transnazionali: cfr. Anderson 1991, Abélès 1990, Faeta 2005, Handelman 1990, 1999 e 2004, Handler 1988, Herzfeld 1982, 1992 e 2003, Istenič 2012, Macdonald 2013, Palumbo 2006a, 2009 e 2010a, Wolf 2001a.

Manipolare forme di cultura popolare, inventare le ‘tradizioni’, riferirsi ad un passato mitizzato e reificato; operare affinché tali manipolazioni e invenzioni si radichino nel vissuto, animino l’immaginario, muovano sentimenti ed emozioni locali appare oggi, nella realtà postmoderna, periferica e marginale, una delle più importanti operazioni possibili ai fini del conseguimento dell’egemonia politica e sociale: e in tale operazione i gruppi che si confrontano per il potere, siano essi colti o popolari, posseggono un raffinato, pur se a volte inconsapevole, *know-how*¹³.

È LA TRADIZIONE UN FENOMENO PRETTAMENTE MODERNO?

Da un lato questa relativamente recente attenzione per la componente creativa e per così dire strumentale di alcune tradizioni e per la loro (re)invenzione, dall’altro il conseguenziale nuovo ricalibramento metodologico nello studio etnografico dei fenomeni tradizionali, sono due dei fattori che hanno determinato, tuttavia, il rischio di sottovalutare la componente diacronica, e quindi gli aspetti storici (e storiografici), inerenti a detti fenomeni. In altre parole, la messa in evidenza dei processi e delle dinamiche relativi a tale o talaltra circostanziale “invenzione” o “riplasmazione” o “rifunzionalizzazione” di una data tradizione, ha talvolta lasciato in ombra gli aspetti legati invece alla continuità culturale e alle ragioni e dinamiche della persistenza di forme e funzioni. Questo tipo di approccio, come cercherò di dimostrare in questa e nella seguente sezione, sembra caratterizzare particolarmente quelle analisi incentrate sulla dimensione politica dei fatti tradizionali. In accordo a questo approccio, le tradizioni, più che costituire i *loci* della riproduzione e trasmissione di simboli e altre dimensioni culturali dell’esperienza umana, avrebbero una funzione per l’appunto precipuamente politica, legata cioè alla dimensione del potere. Le tradizioni sarebbero dunque, in questa prospettiva, dei meri espedienti egemonici, funzionali a fattori contingenti, e la cui dimensione storica sarebbe del tutto secondaria.

Spingendo le conseguenze di questa impostazione ancora oltre, in alcuni casi si è voluto, mi sembra, ridurre la tradizione in sé, cioè in quanto categoria o ambito dell’agire umano, a strategia sociale politicamente opportunistica e (quindi) culturalmente essenzializzante, ovvero una modalità esperienziale tipicamente moderna (o tardo-moderna), imbrigliata inestricabilmente nel reticolo delle relazioni di potere. La tradizione sarebbe dunque particolarmente attraente come oggetto di studio antropologico proprio in ragione della sua politicità e del suo essere un dispositivo socio-culturale per l’appunto specificamente moderno: “la ‘tradizione’ è un’invenzione della ‘modernità’”, ha scritto B. Palumbo¹⁴. Questo

¹³ Faeta 2005: 159. Cfr. anche Bravo 2005: 21-24 e Palumbo 2006a: 12-73.

¹⁴ Palumbo 2006a: 21. La citazione è tratta dall’introduzione a una giustamente celebre ricerca etnografica intrapresa dall’autore in Sicilia orientale. Il lavoro sul campo e i problemi teorici da esso mobilitati durante tale ricerca portarono Palumbo a formulare alcune conclusioni abbastanza

approccio, tuttavia, non risolve tutti i problemi legati all’interpretazione dei fatti tradizionali, e rischia anzi di appiattirli sulla base di un certo “presentismo metodologico” (questa espressione verrà discussa più avanti; nelle successive righe, invece, cercherò di argomentare perché considerare la tradizione come una realtà prettamente moderna non sia del tutto convincente, mentre la questione del potere verrà affrontata più avanti nel testo).

Affermare che le cose si tramandano nel tempo è una constatazione che, pur nella sua ovvietà, non è poi così ovvia, così come non così ovvia fu un tempo la constatazione che *tutte* le tradizioni, anche quelle più remote, sono state inventate, in qualche tempo, in qualche luogo e per qualche scopo. La continuità culturale (sia essa relativa a fenomeni o processi sociali caratterizzabili come formali, strutturali, funzionali, etc.), e quindi la persistenza nel tempo di alcuni oggetti o fatti o processi socio-culturali, è di per sé un dato da interpretare, non una spiegazione. E in ultima istanza, sebbene si possa connotare terminologicamente tale continuità dandogli qualsivoglia nome (“tradizione”, “canone”, “consuetudine”, etc.), la realtà a cui il nome rimanda resta tale.

Per esempio, che la “tradizione” di suonare la zampogna sia diffusa da secoli, in alcune aree dell’entroterra montano molisano, è un dato di fatto, non (solo) una essenzializzazione della rappresentazione che del proprio passato e delle proprie tradizioni fanno i promotori del patrimonializzato e patrimonializzante “Festival della Zampogna” di Scapoli, per ragioni più o meno politiche¹⁵. Ritengo tuttavia necessario spingere oltre la critica della concezione della tradizione come invenzione della modernità, e a questo fine citerò ora tre esempi storici, ciascuno tratto da tempi remoti tra loro e da noi. La giustapposizione di questi esempi potrà sembrare a tutta prima metodologicamente audace, per non dire problematica, per questo essa sarà giustificata, spero in modo convincente, nelle successive righe.

1) Le liste reali sumeriche sono dei documenti redatti in diverse versioni e in diverse epoche, durante il III millennio a. C. La loro ragion d’essere apparente è di natura calendariale e mitica; in realtà, la loro funzione precipua era quella di sostenere e comprovare la realtà di un passato, o

radicali sulla natura dei fenomeni “tradizionali”. Nel testo dal quale traggio l’estratto, Palumbo sorregge questa sua affermazione citando un articolo di P. Boyer (Boyer 1989a). In realtà la posizione di Boyer, come vedremo, è più sfumata e non altrettanto radicale.

¹⁵ Qui evoco le categorie di patrimonio e di patrimonializzazione poiché entrambe rimandano a processi di istituzionalizzazione del passato, un processo ovviamente legato alle poetiche e pratiche della tradizione. Ciò vale principalmente per quello che è ormai definito convenzionalmente il “patrimonio culturale immateriale”. La letteratura antropologica sui patrimoni culturali e sui processi di patrimonializzazione, e sulle questioni politiche a essi legati, è ormai enorme: cfr., tra gli studi a mio avviso più rilevanti, Bendix 2009, Berliner 2012, Bortolotto 2011a, Brumann 2014, Fourcade 2007, Handler 1988, Hertz, Chappaz-Wirthner 2012, Kuutma 2007, Macdonald 2013, Maffi 2006, Palumbo 2006a, 2010a, 2010b, Smith 2006, Tauschek 2011. Lo scrivente se ne è occupato in diverse occasioni: Testa 2012, 2014a, 2016a, 2016c e 2016d.

meglio di una rappresentazione del passato, funzionale a rivendicazioni “politiche” così come a necessità religiose, a loro volta correlate alle prime¹⁶. 2) J. Scheid, tra i massimi studiosi della religione di Roma antica, ha recentemente scritto che “quella romana è una religione ritualistica e come tale severamente tradizionalista”¹⁷ (e continua sostenendo, forse perché ha letto Hobsbawm, che “ciò non le impedisce di evolversi e di integrare nuovi elementi, poiché l’apertura dei nuovi cittadini ai nuovi dèi era tradizionale a Roma”¹⁸). La sacralità, per i Romani, era un prodotto di una concezione della storia e del passato. I loro riti e le loro pratiche erano sostenuti da una credenza inderogabile: quella nel *mos maiorum*, una nozione latrice di una precisa poetica della storia, fondata sull’assunto del valore superiore e normativo di quanto tramandato dagli antenati, dagli illustri cittadini romani vissuti nel passato. Una espressione, quella di *mos maiorum*, che non esiterei a tradurre con “tradizione”¹⁹.

3) Quando Marsilio Ficino fonda l’Accademia platonica, a Firenze, nel 1459, per promuovere lo studio delle dottrine platoniche, neoplatoniche ed ermetiche, egli si pone sul solco tracciato da altri filosofi, anche di tempi remoti, che guardavano alla “tradizione” platonica come punto di riferimento intellettuale fondamentale – cos’altro è, infatti, una “dottrina”, se non una forma di tradizione? Allo stesso tempo, e sua volta, Ficino diventa il capostipite di una nuova “tradizione” di studi, quella degli studi neoplatonici in Italia. Il filosofo toscano ritiene che l’eredità di Platone e degli antichi filosofi ermetici sia un sapere misconosciuto, da recuperare, e vi si dedica con grande passione, una passione nutrita dalla consapevolezza di porsi in un solco tracciato da illustri predecessori (“antenati intellettuali”), consacrando allo studio dei filosofi del passato sulla base di necessità intellettuali e spirituali ben radicate nel suo presente²⁰.

La tesi che qui sostengo è che, una volta giustapposti, gli esempi degli scribi sumerici, degli antichi Romani e di Ficino, pur nella loro grande diversità, risultano nondimeno associati da un comune denominatore culturale di importanza centrale: quei soggetti storici utilizzavano e riproducevano una concezione e rappresentazione

¹⁶ Traggio tutte le informazioni su questo esempio storico da Liverani 2003.

¹⁷ Scheid 2009: 29. Fa eco un’affermazione di C. Bell: “in the fixity of ritual’s structure lies the prestige of tradition and in this prestige lies its power” (Bell 2009: 120). Per altre interessanti considerazioni sul carattere tradizionalista della religione romana e delle religioni antiche in genere, cfr. Kerényi 1977: 34 e Sabbatucci 1988: 3.

¹⁸ Scheid 2009: 29.

¹⁹ Quello di *mos maiorum* – o *vetus mos* (Cicerone, *De re publica*. 5, 1) o *mos antiquus* (Tacito, *Dialogus de oratoribus*, 28, 2) – “is the core concept of Roman traditionalism” (Kierdorf 1996: 1).

²⁰ Traggio tutte le informazioni su questo esempio storico dal bel libro *La tradizione classica nel pensiero del Rinascimento* (Kristeller 1969). Altri interessanti esempi storici pre-moderni di concettualizzazione della tradizione si trovano in Prandi 2012: *passim* e in Glassie 2013: 405-408.

del passato che può a buon diritto esser classificata come “tradizionale”, e che si basava, come si basa tutt’ora, su meccanismi socialmente costruiti e quindi operativi sia sul piano dell’immaginario collettivo che su quello individuale. Questi meccanismi sono, sostanzialmente, quelli della reificazione o meta-storicizzazione dei simboli, dell’immaginazione/idealizzazione (positiva o negativa) del passato, e l’uso di poetiche e pratiche che diventano socialmente significative e “dense” grazie alla dimensione di trasmissione e profondità temporale (reale o presunta) da cui sarebbero caratterizzate. In questo senso, tanto le tradizioni “popolari” che quelle “colte”, tanto quelle religiose che profane, e tanto quelle antiche che moderne, rispettano tutte il medesimo principio di autorità del passato e di adesione più o meno fedele ai da esso trasmessi modelli (quale che sia la loro natura).

Osservata da questa prospettiva, quella della “tradizione” è, credo, una dimensione che esiste fin dai tempi più remoti cui la storia ci permette di risalire, una dimensione non esclusiva né della modernità né, all’opposto, delle società che non a caso si era soliti definire “tradizionali” (in opposizione a quelle, appunto, “moderne”), in antropologia²¹.

Le liste reali sumeriche, i riti dei romani, le traduzioni di Ficino, i miti dei Bororo così come il rogo del fantoccio di carnevale o gli esempi etnografici che verranno citati e discussi nelle ultime pagine di questo contributo rispondono tutti, *mutatis mutandis*, a una medesima necessità: essi costituiscono e costruiscono gli elementi di una concezione del tempo, e, più in particolare, di una rappresentazione

²¹ La definizione di “società tradizionale” è legata, essenzialmente, al regime comunicativo: “la distinction entre deux catégories de société [la società tradizionale e quella moderna] d’après la manière dont elles se lient à leur passé n’est pas sans fondement. Elle tient non à la plus ou moins pregnance de la tradition mais au mode de sa transmission: oralité, écriture” (Pouillon 2007: 711). Le società cosiddette tradizionali sarebbero quindi quelle dell’oralità (un argomento simile è sviluppato da J. Goody, a cui Pouillon in parte si appoggia: Goody, Watt 2005). In effetti, il fondamento storico di cui parla J. Pouillon, sulla scorta di Goody, è relativo a uno scarto differenziale che non è di ordine interpretativo: una società o è caratterizzata dalla scrittura o non lo è, ma questa distinzione regge a condizione che si sottintenda una omologia assoluta tra “oralità” e “tradizione”, ciò che non è affatto ovvio, soprattutto alla luce della constatazione che ogni società è caratterizzata dalla trasmissione del sapere, quindi ogni società è, a suo modo, tradizionale. La cultura in sé, per alcuni, si baserebbe su questo principio, che sarebbe, per giunta, non esclusivamente antropico: incidentalmente, ricordo che gli etologi parlano di “culture animali” proprio in relazione a fenomeni come la trasmissione di saperi: “molti animali sono capaci di scambiare informazioni e trasmetterle da un individuo all’altro per via non genetica. La loro cultura non è basata sui libri o sulle parole, ma non per questo è meno sorprendente. [...] Memoria, comunicazione e creatività costituiscono la base delle tradizioni culturali animali, mentre l’imitazione e l’apprendimento ne sono il motore” (dalla quarta di copertina di Bisconti 2008). Memoria, comunicazione, creatività, gli stessi elementi che, abbiamo visto, sono alla base delle dinamiche tradizionali. Anche la riflessione di Boyer si è orientata verso la messa in evidenza delle proprietà gnoseologiche, interattive e comunicative della tradizione. Per Boyer, al fine di evitare di cadere nella trappola di una reificazione del concetto-oggetto di “tradizione”, bisognerebbe concepirla come una modalità di trasmissione del sapere, piuttosto che come una caratteristica – o una tipologia – del sapere stesso. La tradizione come modalità sistematica di acquisizione e comunicazione (e quindi trasmissione) di saperi pre-determinati ma sempre socialmente significativi (Boyer 1989a: 16).

del passato, dal quale, a loro volta, ricevono il loro crisma, siano essi ritenuti, a torto (i re sumerici regnanti per 2000 anni), o a ragione (i testi di Platone), come cose esistite nel passato e tramandate e tramandabili nel tempo. Cose che *dovevano* essere tramandate *poiché* tradizionali (quale che fosse il termine relativo utilizzato per descriverne la componente diacronica e conservativa – che noi definiamo “tradizionale” appunto – e quali che fossero, nella realtà, le effettive e sempre contingenti forme della trasmissione – e quindi del mantenimento/cambiamento – di quelle stesse cose). Come per il mito, non a caso già definito basilarmente come un “tradizional tale”²², il potere della tradizione e delle tradizioni, siano esse radicate nella continuità storica o meno, sta nel loro carattere fondante costruito sul sentimento, socialmente prodotto, del prestigio di un *certo* passato, e, ipotizzerei, sulla necessità esistenziale di trascendere la caducità del presente e l’incertezza del futuro. In altre parole, la componente temporale che caratterizza i fatti tradizionali *poggia* tanto sul passato che sulla sua immaginazione (dove le metafore come “radici storiche” o “basi storiche”). In questa prospettiva, la tradizione sarebbe uno degli elementi per immaginare “origini” da congiungere al “presente” al fine di costruire il senso del proprio stare al mondo e, quindi, dare senso alla storia: una rappresentazione del passato, una strategia identitaria, una poetica della memoria, e una pratica del ricordare e trasmettere²³.

Da quanto precedentemente argomentato, si può quindi desumere che, oltre al fatto, oggettivo in sé, della trasmissione di certe cose nel tempo, anche la riflessione sulla tradizione – o sulle cose tramandate nel tempo – è storicamente rintracciabile in epoche pre-moderne, così come l’uso del passato e delle sue rappresentazioni per scopi religiosi, culturali e politici. Ogni società che “usa” il proprio passato e ne fa oggetto di riflessione e trasmissione è, a suo modo, “tradizionale”. Nessuna delle proprietà tradizionalmente ritenute determinanti il concetto di tradizione si rinviene esclusivamente nella modernità, tutte le sono precedenti, talvolta anche di molto. Figlia della modernità è solo la salutare, quando ragionevole e ben temperata, prospettiva critica e riflessiva sulla tradizione, la quale è una realtà culturale che ha assunto forme, funzioni e significati diversi a seconda del contesto e che pertanto può e deve esser oggetto di ricerca antropologica e storica.

Sostenere la natura specificamente moderna della tradizione (e, ne consegue, delle tradizioni), invece di chiarirne la funzione sociale, la oscura e l’appiattisce: osservare e interpretare l’invenzione e l’uso (anche e forse soprattutto politico) di alcune tradizioni non dovrebbe far tralasciare l’interesse della persistenza di altre

²² “Morphologically speaking, myths and folktales are the same. [...] *Myth is a traditional tale with secondary, partial reference to something of collective importance* [corsivo dell’autore]. Myth is traditional tale applied; [...] The phenomena of collective importance which are verbalized by applying traditional tales are to be found, first of all, in social life” (Burkert 1979: 18).

²³ Sugli aspetti psico-sociali del senso di appartenenza a un passato riferiti a una – o alla – tradizione, cfr. Shils 2012: 62-68 e Macdonald 2013: 1-51, 79-108 e *passim*.

(sempre tenendo in debito conto il fatto che, in ultima istanza, tutte le tradizioni sono inventate, e che molte, ma non necessariamente tutte, sono caratterizzate da una dimensione politica). Direi anzi che, paradossalmente, l'invenzione e la riplasmazione delle tradizioni confermano proprio quella continuità (vera o presunta) e soprattutto quella caratterizzazione genuinamente culturale (nel senso olistico che M. Sahlins dà al termine cultura²⁴), più che prettamente o esclusivamente politica. Questa proprietà che le permette di essere una materia e allo stesso tempo uno strumento di riproduzione, creazione e ricreazione culturale, pur essendo consustanziale a tutti fatti sociali detti tradizionali, sembra essere uno degli aspetti più invisibili alle correnti antropologiche post-strutturaliste o post-foucaultiane. Queste ultime sono caratterizzate da una decisa tendenza a diluire la cultura e le dinamiche prettamente culturali nella sfera del politico e quindi nelle dinamiche di potere, oppure a rifiutare il primato della cultura come realtà umana olistica e immanente, concedendolo invece alla dimensione del potere, intesa a sua volta come olistica e immanente, e di fatto sostituente la prima nel suo ruolo di fondamento dell'agire umano – e quindi dell'organizzazione della vita sociale e dei suoi vari aspetti.

“Non tutte le tradizioni, in un certo contesto storico-sociale, sono suscettibili di essere inventate”, ha giustamente scritto F. Dei²⁵. Nulla si inventa o si crea *ex-nihilo*, e semmai l'invenzione delle tradizioni conferma proprio quella dimensione di riappropriazione del passato socialmente significativo (e dunque di continuità temporale) che rappresenta un aspetto di primaria importanza nei fatti sociali tradizionali. In altre parole, sarebbe forse più corretto parlare, come propone M. Sahlins, di “inventività” della tradizione, piuttosto che, più semplicisticamente, di invenzione²⁶. Sarebbe altresì auspicabile abbandonare la credenza nel suo essere un fatto socio-culturale soltanto o precipuamente moderno.

La concezione storicamente ed epistemologicamente “debole” di tradizione che è stata precedentemente discussa ed esemplificata nella radicale conclusione di B. Palumbo si può rintracciare anche altrove, seppure sediversamente argomentata, nella letteratura antropologica italiana. F. Mugnaini, interpretando un testo di G. Lenclud, ha scritto che “la tradizione non è un prodotto del passato, ma una riappropriazione selettiva di una porzione di esso, una filiazione inversa. Il passato (che esiste come sapere del presente) offre al presente stesso parte della sua

²⁴ Sahlins 1999.

²⁵ Dei 2002: 87. Considerazioni simili in Burke 2008: 101, Glassie 1995: 405-406, Sahlins 1999: 408-412, 2000: 467 e *passim*, Wolf 2001b: 354.

²⁶ Sahlins 1999: 408. È chiaro che siffatta conclusione implica l'adesione a un modello non più solo strutturale, ma già idealistico. Non è possibile discutere dettagliatamente questa problematica in questa sede. Sembra che per Sahlins la tradizione – o meglio il pensiero e la pratica tradizionali – preesisterebbe, per così dire, come opzione culturale umana universale, e si manifesterebbe in concrete forme empiricamente osservabili attraverso processi sociali di riproduzione, trasmissione e, per l'appunto, “inventività” e creatività culturale. Non sorprende una siffatta concezione nel “secondo” Sahlins, notoriamente e radicalmente influenzato dallo strutturalismo lévi-straussiano, non a caso già acutamente definito un “kantisme sans sujet transcendantal” (Ricoeur 1963: 24).

legittimità: la tradizione fornisce al presente la sua giustificazione, la garanzia di autenticità²⁷. Che il passato offra al presente una parte della sua legittimità e che la tradizione sia una riappropriazione selettiva di una porzione di passato sono idee del tutto condivisibili; eppure, le restanti affermazioni di Mugnaini mi sembrano andare nella stessa direzione di quelle di Palumbo, o quantomeno ne hanno lo stesso portato anti-storicista, secondo il quale il passato, e quindi la storia, non esisterebbero, nella realtà sociale, che nella forma degradata di retoriche e poetiche (ovviamente motivate da ragioni politiche). Il testo di Mugnaini si presta dunque a diverse interpretazioni, ma rimane ambiguo su un aspetto molto importante: da esso non trapela chiaramente che è *la conoscenza del passato* a esistere come sapere del presente, non il passato in sé. Certo, si replicherà, la tradizione ha un potere fondante sul presente nella misura in cui produce sentimenti di autenticità (e l'autenticità, in effetti, non è una realtà storica, bensì una poetica sociale²⁸), ma, di nuovo, il fatto oggettivo della possibile, documentabile trasmissione di determinate cose nel tempo, cose definite come "tradizionali" dagli agenti sociali, sembra esser del tutto misconosciuto, o comunque sottovalutato.

La tradizione del Palio di Siena è certamente una realtà del presente, ma è altrettanto certamente un prodotto del passato²⁹, allo stesso modo in cui la Colonna traiana non è solo una rappresentazione né esiste solo come "sapere del presente", ma è un prodotto del passato, oggetto portatore di temporalità indipendentemente dai sentimenti con cui questa qualità oggettiva è caricata dalle poetiche sociali³⁰. Se è lo sguardo dell'osservatore a delineare e modellare la cosa osservata, questo non vuol dire che essa non esista al di fuori del modello che ne fa l'osservatore, e ciò malgrado la mancanza di modelli originari cui compararla o di misure con cui valutarne la storicità. La posizione di Lenclud e Pouillon, che è discussa da Mugnaini e su cui le argomentazioni di questo in parte si basano, mi sembra in realtà essere, al riguardo, più mitigata e condivisibile:

La tradizione non è ciò che è sempre stato, ma ciò che la si fa essere.

[...] In tutte le società, le nostre comprese, la tradizione è una 'retroproiezione', formula che Pouillon esplicita in questi termini:

²⁷ Mugnaini 2001: 37. Il testo di Mugnaini da cui traggio questo estratto è uno studio di taglio teorico precisamente sulla tradizione e lo studio delle tradizioni nella prospettiva dell'antropologia contemporanea.

²⁸ Sull'autenticità come poetica sociale di primaria importanza nello studio antropologico delle cose tradizionali, cfr. Bendix 1997, Bortolotto 2011b, Handler 1988, Heinich 2012, Istenič 2012, Macdonald 2013 e Testa 2016e.

²⁹ "La tradizione non è nient'altro che una strategia fondativa, che legittima un atto o una pratica riferendola a un passato idealizzato. Alcune feste durano per secoli, attraversano formazioni sociali distinte e forse addirittura mantengono alcuni tratti formali intatti; però trasformano i propri significati e funzioni, adattandosi alle necessità dei propri soggetti che si rinnovano di continuo. Come dice Vovelle, la festa è un'invariante che non ha mai smesso di variare" (Ariño 1997: 14-15).

³⁰ "Nulla di quanto accade sfugge del tutto alla presa del passato [...] Gran parte di ciò che esiste è sopravvivenza o riproduzione di ciò che già esisteva prima. [...] Il mutamento, esattamente come la persistenza, è ancorato al passato" (Shils 2012: 45; cfr. anche le simili considerazioni in Glassie 2013: 405-406).

‘Noi selezioniamo ciò da cui ci dichiariamo determinati, noi ci presentiamo come i continuatori di coloro che abbiamo reso nostri predecessori’³¹. La tradizione istituisce una □filiazione inversa’: non sono i padri a generare i figli, ma i figli che generano i propri padri. Non è il passato a produrre il presente, ma il presente che modella il passato. La tradizione è un processo di riconoscimento di paternità. Si potrà forse obiettare che bisogna bene che il passato ci sia stato, che in una certa misura persista, perché il presente possa a sua volta servirsene, e che, quindi la sua invenzione non sarebbe totalmente libera. Non ci sono dubbi al riguardo³².

Lenclud percepisce la tensione polarizzante (presente-passato) che caratterizza l’oggetto tradizionale, e il pericolo di cadere nell’anti-storicismo o addirittura nell’anti-realismo obliterando uno dei due poli, e ritiene perciò necessario precisare esplicitamente che la tradizione riguarda entrambi. Per esemplificare nuovamente: il Palio di Siena è una “tradizione” passibile sia di analisi antropologica che storica, né l’immaginazione del passato che essa veicola, in quanto oggetto di studio dell’antropologia, dovrebbe essere ritenuta cosa più rilevante o “oggettiva” della realtà della sua trasmissione, ché tra antropologia e storia non esiste gerarchia epistemica. Il passato, come qualsiasi altra cosa, è un oggetto conoscibile, anche se solo parzialmente³³.

³¹ Pouillon 1975: 160.

³² Lenclud 2001: 131. La teorizzazione di Lenclud sembra fare eco a quanto era stato scritto qualche anno prima dall’altra sponda dell’Atlantico da R. Bauman, e che qui merita di esser riportato: “The term tradition is conventionally used in a dual sense, to name both the process of transmission of an isolable cultural element through time and also the elements themselves that are transmitted in this process. To view an item of folklore as traditional is to see it as having temporal continuity, rooted in the past but persisting into the present in the manner of a natural object. There is, however, an emergent reorientation taking place among students of tradition, away from this naturalistic view of tradition as a cultural inheritance rooted in the past and towards an understanding of tradition as symbolically constituted in the present. Tradition, so reconceptualised, is seen as a selective, interpretative construction, the social and the symbolic creation of a connection between aspects of the present and an interpretation of the past”. Tale fatto sociale collettivamente costruito può quindi esser ripensato in termini di “tradizionalità”, più che di tradizione *sic et simpliciter*: “Traditionality implies supra-individuality, insofar as it involves intergenerational transmission, continuity, and customary authority within a social group” (Bauman 1992: 31-32). Questo parallelismo è stato colto anche da F. Dei, che ne discute in Dei 2012: 121. Chiaramente la “emergent reorientation” di cui parla l’Autore va contestualizzata: sono gli inizi degli anni ’90, e tale tendenza, allora giovane, è stata negli ultimi venti anni ampiamente sviluppata, fino ad esser sistematizzata in forma compiuta, e sulla base di una letteratura ormai enorme, da S. Macdonald, che definisce la tradizione come una delle possibili tipologie di “passato presente” (“present past”: Macdonald 2013: 27 e *passim*). Questo stesso contributo può essere considerato come un prodotto di quel riorientamento teorico.

³³ Un’altra corrente di studi che privilegia decisamente un approccio sincronico, ma che ciononostante prende molto sul serio la tradizione, la tradizionalità e le cose tradizionali come oggetti di studio (pur non avendo mai teorizzato sistematicamente al riguardo della categoria “tradizione”) è la cosiddetta scuola etnologica francese del “simbolico”, i cui rappresentanti maggiori sono D. Fabre,

DECOSTRUIRE LA DECOSTRUZIONE DELLA TRADIZIONE

Fin qui si è discusso della tradizione, della sua fortuna come concetto, e delle diverse maniere in cui essa è stata studiata e concettualizzata in alcune correnti storiografiche e antropologiche. Si è poi visto che, in Italia, una eminente opinione espressa da uno studioso significativamente influenzato dal pensiero di Foucault vuole che la tradizione e i fatti tradizionali siano fenomeni prettamente moderni, caratterizzati da una relazione solo debole (poiché principalmente di natura rappresentazionale) con il passato, e sarebbero altresì caratterizzati da una dimensione – o meglio da una “funzione” – precipuamente politica, in accordo alla vulgata per l'appunto foucaultiana per cui è il potere, e non la cultura, a configurare e orientare l'agire degli individui e le relative configurazioni sociali.

A mio avviso, questa posizione possiede *in nuce* un vizio non solo anti-storicista, dovuto alla sopravvalutazione della dimensione sincronica a discapito di quella diacronica, ma anche potenzialmente anti-realista: essa sembra condividere con altre tendenze cosiddette post-moderne l'idea che esisterebbe un incolmabile abisso tra i fatti sociali (e la stessa realtà “in sé”) e le strategie ermeneutiche e testuali adottate dagli studiosi per descriverli e interpretarli (strategie di volta in volta qualificate come “retoriche” o “narrative” o “discorsive”³⁴). L'idea che, al di là dell'interpretazione non sia possibile risalire alla realtà (storica e contestuale, dunque culturale) dei fatti sociali, e che pertanto esistano solo interpretazioni di fatti di per sé essenzialmente inafferrabili³⁵. Di conseguenza, se la realtà non può

G. Charuty e C. Fabre-Vassas. Questi e altri studiosi si riallacciano alle – e reinterpretano – tradizioni di studio di studio abbastanza diverse come quelle afferenti a A. van Gennep, C. Lévi-Strauss, E. de Martino. Caratterizza questa scuola di ricerca etnologica l'attenzione per le codificazioni e ricodificazioni simboliche e rituali di fatti sociali trasmessi dal passato, principalmente in contesti europei: la loro non è una prospettiva folklorica, poiché essa non privilegia le forme degli oggetti tradizionali e/o le modalità della loro trasmissione, ma piuttosto i valori, i significati e le funzioni che assumono nel presente e che sono etnograficamente indagabili. Tutti questi studiosi sono decisamente distanti da posizioni che potremmo definire decostruzionistiche o generalmente post-moderne (i testi metodologicamente più significativi sono Charuty 1995, 2010, e Fabre, Fabre-Vassas 1995; alcuni studi esemplari, in cui è evidente come tipiche “tradizioni popolari” europee possano esser studiate e interpretate in modo antropologicamente convincente pur senza decostruire radicalmente la loro dimensione e caratterizzazione per l'appunto tradizionale, sono Fabre, Camberoque 1977, Fabre-Vassas 1987 e Puccio 2002). Più di recente, un altro studioso francese, ma di una generazione successiva a quella degli studiosi testé ricordati, Laurent-Sébastien Fournier, ha proposto una serie di studi in cui fa proprie e rielabora convincentemente diverse istanze dell'etnologia del simbolico, della più ampia temperie di studi dell'antropologia e dell'etnologia dell'Europa, e dell'antropologia dei patrimoni culturali e dell'istituzionalizzazione culturale, senza mai propendere per un approccio tipicamente decostruzionista (Fournier 2011 e 2012). Anche in questo caso, gli oggetti di studio emicamente caratterizzati come “tradizionali” sono al centro dell'interesse dello studioso.

³⁴ Caratterizza questo approccio anche il rifiuto di utilizzare la distinzione metodologica tra dimensioni etiche ed emiche, il cui valore esplicativo è rifiutato sulla base della convinzione della circolazione costante e fluida dei saperi, e dell'insistenza sul primato delle strategie retoriche piuttosto che sui contenuti che queste veicolano.

³⁵ Questa idea si basa chiaramente sull'assunto nietzschiano, riletto in chiave foucaultiana (Bielskis 2009), secondo il quale “non esistono fatti, solo interpretazioni” (Nietzsche 1954: 458). Al

che esser filtrata dalla “griglia” dei discorsi egemonici e dai regimi di verità (ovviamente nell’accezione foucaultiana³⁶), considerati “sempre politici”, che la esprimono, allora le scienze sociali non sarebbero che discipline dell’interpretazione delle rappresentazioni dei fatti, mai dei fatti in sé, e sarebbero quindi basate su una teoria della conoscibilità della realtà che è una sorta di “trascendentalità al contrario”: la “griglia” (i discorsi, le narrazioni, i regimi di verità) succede alla – e di fatto impedisce la – conoscibilità dei fatti empirici; ne consegue che ciò che determina tali fatti è inconoscibile. La scienza stessa non sarebbe, in questa prospettiva, che un sistema di procedure di natura in ultima istanza puramente ermeneutica (e quindi soggiacente al principio della circolarità ermeneutica³⁷), senza alcuna legittimità ad affermare qualcosa di vero sul mondo. Questa convinzione è ovviamente il prodotto di uno *Zeitgeist* (accademico) preciso, quello della cultura (accademica) cosiddetta “post-moderna”, e non può che destare perplessità, specie in quegli studiosi, come a esempio gli storici, che tentano di risalire alla realtà fattuale, cioè alla realtà dei fatti avvenuti nel passato, e ciò attraverso l’applicazione di metodi che malauguratamente non possono giovare di tutti gli accorgimenti riflessivi che costituiscono il privilegio metodologico degli antropologi e dei teorici sociali³⁸.

Trovo che sia la sottovalutazione degli effetti di questa dimensione paralizzante – evidentemente tanto incorporata da essere ormai impercettibile – della decostruzione metodologica a costituire la ragione per la quale uno studioso pur attento e acuto come B. Palumbo ha potuto sostenere la natura prettamente e *solo* moderna della tradizione. È questa la ragione, inoltre, per cui lo stesso studioso conclude, in un suo più recente lavoro, che “la decostruzione cui il lavoro etnografico e antropologico degli ultimi decenni ha sottoposto la nozione di ‘tradizione’, [la rendono] di fatto inutilizzabile come concetto esplicativo insieme a tutto il fascio di presupposto concettuali e ideologici e di dicotomie nei quali era avvolta³⁹. Certo, il concetto di tradizione inteso come categoria esplicativa è

riguardo delle derive intellettuali di questa idea, Boyer ha scritto che “l’activité ‘deconstructrice’ met en doute la possibilité même de constituer des données culturelles objectives, rejoignant en cela une tendance persistante et peut-être intrinsèque, anti-positiviste et anti-réaliste, de l’anthropologie culturelle” (Boyer 1989a: 3). Considerazioni simili si trovano in Brumann 1999, Harris 2000, Sahlins 1999 e 2000. Si può far risalire al giustamente celebre *Scrivere le culture* (Clifford, Marcus 1997 [1986]) il definitivo travasamento di questa “idea” nella teoria antropologica, sebbene il libro sia formato da saggi che presentano una grande varietà di approcci: dalle ragionevoli ed eleganti posizioni critiche di J. Clifford e R. Rosaldo alla prospettiva decisamente anti-realista di S. A. Tyler.

³⁶ Weir 2008.

³⁷ Greisch 1998.

³⁸ Queste perplessità riguardanti la pratica della storia come disciplina sono state intercettate e convincentemente problematizzate anche da B. Palumbo: “[esistono] difficoltà, se non proprio impossibilità, di cogliere attraverso fonti scritte quei livelli emozionali, incorporati e abitudinari della pratica umana sui quali gli antropologi [portano] il loro sguardo. [...] Come cogliere, infatti, la fluidità, la stratificazione, l’ambiguità e la dinamicità della pratica umana, con le quali l’interazione etnografica mette noi antropologi in diretto e non eludibile contatto, quando queste dimensioni sono inevitabilmente codificate, trascritte, immobilizzate in rappresentazioni testuali?” (Palumbo 2006b: 261).

³⁹ Palumbo 2009: 48-59. In queste pagine Palumbo sostiene nuovamente le sue ipotesi appellandosi a Boyer. In realtà, la posizione di Boyer, come già detto, è più sfumata. Egli scrive

obsoleto: esso va spiegato, non serve a spiegare, ma, come per il caso della nozione di “cultura”, ciò che potrebbe renderlo ancora funzionale è l’uso critico e riflessivo dello studioso⁴⁰: quale altro termine utilizzare, in sua vece, per descrivere quelle realtà che pure *esistono*, decostruite o meno, caratterizzate da termini ermeneuticamente stratificati o meno? Visto che le terminologie scientifiche, tutte, si basano su convenzioni e, più precisamente, su un più o meno tacito contratto intellettuale tra studiosi, perché non trovare una soluzione teorica e concettuale non meramente distruttiva e *convenzionalmente* utilizzare il termine “tradizione” per descrivere e indicare determinate cose e non altre? Perché, in altre parole, non continuarlo a utilizzare tenendo conto e sciogliendo, e non arrendendosi, a quel “fascio di presupposto concettuali e ideologici e di dicotomie”⁴¹? La sensazione, altrimenti, è che con l’acqua sporca si butti via anche il bambino.

In questo studio, quella di Palumbo rappresenta ed esemplifica una ben precisa tendenza teorica che recentemente ha avuto una certa risonanza e un certo seguito in Italia. La pratica decostruzionistica cui essa si consacra con zelo, tuttavia, se da un lato ha prodotto un indubitabile avanzamento teorico all’interno

infatti: “la persistance de la tradition ne doit pas être confondue avec la rémanence des faits culturels en générale. Tout ce qui persiste ou se transmet n’est pas traditionnel, et il ne viendrait pas à l’esprit de qualifier de ‘traditionnelle’ la conservation du vocabulaire ou de la syntaxe d’une langue. Par contre, un certain répertoire de proverbes ou de mythes pourra être qualifié de traditionnel. Les ‘traditions’ sont généralement caractérisées comme des ensembles d’idées sur le monde, visions du monde, etc., transmises de générations en génération. Pourtant de telles choses ne peuvent s’étudier directement. Ce que l’ethnologie décrit le plus souvent sous le terme de ‘tradition’ consiste en fait en situations particulières, dans lesquelles des énoncés sont prononcés ou des actions accomplies, qui aux acteurs concernés comme à l’anthropologue paraissent plus dignes d’attention que les paroles ou actions quotidiennes”. (Boyer 1989a: 14). Come risulta evidente dal passo citato, la prospettiva di Boyer si concentra sugli aspetti enunciativi e comunicativi della tradizione (cfr. anche 1989b e 1990), ma, a differenza di quanto affermato da Palumbo (cfr. in particolare Palumbo 2006a: 21 e 2009: 66), essa non perviene alla radicale decostruzione della nozione di tradizione, come le affermazioni dello stesso Boyer qui e altrove citate mostrano chiaramente. Boyer, piuttosto, lamentando ai suoi tempi una generale mancanza di teoresi sulla tradizione – più che ritenendo errate le conclusioni dei suoi colleghi (Boyer 1990: 3 e 120) – ne delocalizza la sede privilegiata di azione dal piano rappresentazionale e contenutistico a quello gnoseologico, cognitivo e interazionale.

⁴⁰ In questa porzione del testo mi riallaccio e supporto le posizioni storiografiche e teoriche di C. Brumann (Brumann 1999) e M. Sahlins (Sahlins 1999 e 2000).

⁴¹ Corredare il termine “tradizione” con delle virgolette caricate di valore riflessivo, quando si intende usarlo in modo analitico e non puramente descrittivo, è una delle possibili soluzioni. Un’altra opzione è quella di preferire il termine “tradizionalizzazione” per rimarcare la dimensione per l’appunto processuale dei fenomeni tradizionali: lo propone apertamente D. Dei (Dei 2012: 21). Da molto tempo ormai un simile espediente teorico-terminologico è stato proposto e parzialmente implementato negli studi sui fenomeni rituali: si è a lungo discusso di utilizzare maggiormente, se non, in alcuni casi, esclusivamente, il termine “ritualizzazione” anziché quello di “rito”, in antropologia e storia delle religioni (il dibattito è articolato e annoso; una panoramica, neanche esaustiva per giunta, è in Bell 2009). Tuttavia, come ho dimostrato altrove, anche coloro che hanno teorizzato e sostenuto – e talvolta veementemente insistito sulla necessità di – questo scarto terminologico e semantico, hanno in verità continuato, e continuano, a utilizzare anche il termine “rito” (Testa 2014a: 56-77, cfr. in particolare le pp. 75-76). Non ci sono ragioni per pensare che la stessa cosa non debba accadere con la diade “tradizione/tradizionalizzazione”.

della pratica dell’antropologia nell’accademia italiana, risultando salutare quindi tanto in termini prettamente metodologici che da un punto di vista dei risultati della ricerca sul campo da essa informata, dall’altro sembra esser foriera di un certo “recentismo metodologico”. Con tale espressione mi riferisco alla tendenza a sopravvalutare alcune proposte teoriche e metodologiche più recenti a discapito di quelle più datate, e quindi a egemonizzare lo spazio di discussione su determinate problematiche, fino a usare la decostruzione e l’accusa di essenzializzazione/reificazione a mo’ di magli sui discorsi non allineati ai propri assunti teorici⁴². Certamente, la decostruzione come metodologia della demistificazione produce dei salutaris anticorpi alle generalizzazioni culturaliste, alle rigidità strutturalistiche, alle forme di primitivismo e romanticismo antropologici, etc.; come effetto collaterale, tuttavia, essa distilla tossine che arrivano spesso a corrodere anche le corrette o comunque ancora fruttuose teorie, interpretazioni e conclusioni presenti in testi non più recenti, cioè non “aggiornati” metodologicamente (ovvero, si potrebbe affermare in modo provocatorio, in testi che non rispondono ai canoni citazionistici sanciti dalla dottrina foucaultiana)⁴³.

Ritengo, inoltre, che il discorso foucaultiano (o post-foucaultiano), così come altri discorsi post-moderni, soffrano anche di quello che ho già definito “presentismo metodologico”, vale a dire la tendenza a proiettare categorie, problematiche, caratteristiche socio-culturali della modernità piena o tarda e dell’*hic et nunc* dell’indagine etnografica su contesti storicamente diversi, o addirittura a criticare i risultati di chi, consapevole delle grandi differenze culturali tra società storicamente diverse, non utilizzi i metodi e le categorie della vulgata foucaultiana, appunto non ritenendole applicabili a contesti storici diversi da quelli contemporanei – la tendenza di alcuni ambienti intellettuali a misconoscere o sottovalutare i confini e le specificità culturali delle società pre-moderne è stata oggetto di riserve da parte di autorità della storia culturale come P. Burke, J. Revel, ed E. Hobsbawm⁴⁴.

⁴² Utilizzo la nozione di “discorso” al modo in cui è stata elaborata e utilizzata da M. Foucault (Foucault 1969). Per “decostruzione” intendo meno quella sorta di procedura ermeneutica non sistematica teorizzata e praticata da Derrida, sulla scorta di Heidegger (Derrida 2002), che gli effetti conoscitivi della ricezione – e le ricadute metodologiche – di altri paradigmi, come quello epistemologico di T. Kuhn (Kuhn 1996), quello archeo-genealogico di M. Foucault (cfr. Foucault 1966, 1975 e 1998) – e il cui capostipite intellettuale è il Nietzsche di *Genealogia della morale* (Nietzsche 2009) – e quello della critica riflessiva della scrittura etnografica inaugurato con la pubblicazione del già ricordato *Scrivere le culture* (Clifford, Marcus 1997 [1986]); sulla pubblicazione di questo libro come vero e proprio *turning point* teorico e metodologico antropologico, cfr. la prefazione all’edizione italiana di G. Marcus [Marcus 1997]). Sia ben chiaro che nel testo la mia critica riguarda quelli che considero degli eccessi nella pratica della decostruzione, non la decostruzione stessa, che è al contrario un’utile e sana procedura ermeneutica, quando praticata correttamente.

⁴³ È stato scritto che “there is a tendency these days to close out the history of the discipline – to forget that those who came before us reflected carefully on a range of theoretical problems and represented a variety of approaches” (Abu-Lughod 1999: S13).

⁴⁴ “There is now a danger of underestimating the importance of cultural boundaries in the past” (Burke 2009: 9). Considerazioni simili in Revel 2006b: 33 e in Hobsbawm 1997b. In una

La critica italiana più radicale, tuttavia, in cui gli effetti del recentismo e del presentismo metodologici di matrice decostruzionistica risultano particolarmente evidenti, è quella che, a partire dalla problematica della tradizione (e da altre problematiche), Palumbo ha portato alle retoriche storiografiche da lui definite “essenzializzanti”: nella sua opera più importante, *L'Unesco e il campanile*⁴⁵, l'antropologo italiano non esita a definire schematiche, ideali, chiuse ed essenzializzanti le retoriche dell’“immaginazione storiografica”⁴⁶, anche quando tali retoriche provenivano dalla penna degli stessi storici. La storia avrebbe “pretese di autonomia esplicativa”⁴⁷ più che potere di indagare, e sarebbe caratterizzata dalla costruzione di narrazioni connotate da un “effetto di realtà”⁴⁸, più che finalizzate all'indagine della realtà stessa⁴⁹. Per di più, la produzione storica sarebbe non solo essenzializzante ma anche connaturale e solidale alle logiche egemoniche e nazionalistiche⁵⁰.

In conclusione, la storiografia, e anche la stessa storia sociale e culturale, oltre a non essere che uno dei tanti “discorsi” moderni, si occuperebbe per di più di cose trascurabili, come l'origine delle tradizioni, la loro continuità nel tempo o la loro rifunzionalizzazione e risemantizzazione, e sarebbe per giunta anche colpevole di essenzializzare le realtà sociali, e di veicolare rivendicazioni politiche a malapena celate, che poi sarebbe compito dell'antropologia politica demistificare, ovviamante sulla base dell'assunto della preminenza della dimensione del potere su tutte le altre.

recente introduzione a una pubblicazione incentrata sul rapporto tra storia, memoria e antropologia, M. N. Craith e M. Fenske riflettono sulle ragioni per le quali il passato (come storia) è letto e interpretato diversamente da storici e antropologi. È certamente vero che, come scrivono, “anthropologists and historians are □coming at’ history from different timeframes [...], the anthropologist is □present-centred’, whereas the historian could be said to be □past-centred” (Craith, Fenske 2013: 1), ma è altrettanto vero che una diversa postura metodologica non implica necessariamente l'obliterazione di una delle due prospettive (come, d'altronde, dimostra efficacemente l'esistenza dell'antropologia storica). Argomenti simili si trovano anche in un recente e convincente studio di C. Giordano: Giordano 2012.

⁴⁵ Palumbo 2006a.

⁴⁶ Ivi: 41-42.

⁴⁷ Ivi: 308. Qui Palumbo sostiene questa sua ipotesi citando P. Ricœur.

⁴⁸ Ibid; “effetto di realtà” è un'espressione che Palumbo riprende da R. Barthes.

⁴⁹ Anche C. Giordano definisce apertamente questo tipo di approccio post-moderno “presentism” (Giordano 2012: 22; corsivo dell'autore). Egli scrive che “Interpretative anthropology has often deliberately overlooked the role of the past, while postmodern anthropology, in the name of a radical constructivism paired with an arbitrary methodological individualism, likes resorting to history to an exercise in essentialism and primordialism” (ivi: 23; sulla questione cfr. anche Macdonald 2013: 54).

⁵⁰ Palumbo 2006a: 211-221 e *passim*. Leggendo *L'Unesco e il campanile*, la sensazione è che per l'autore non alcuni tipi di storiografie siano giustamente passibili di un'analisi che metta in luce le dinamiche di riappropriazione, manipolazione e immaginazione sociale che esse catalizzano o di cui sono il prodotto, ma che sia l'intera storia in quanto disciplina a costituire nient'altro che una pedina tra le altre nello scacchiere politico. In alcuni casi Palumbo è esplicito: la costruzione e l'immaginazione del passato è orientata da pratiche e rappresentazioni “sempre politiche” (Ivi: 211).

Le precedenti posizioni sono sostenute da Palumbo a partire da una vasta conoscenza della letteratura di riferimento, e sono esposte con coerenza teorica ed efficacia retorica. Ciononostante, io credo che questa problematica possa esser trattata in altri termini. Altro è interpretare le relazioni tra *alcuni* discorsi storici e la costruzione, anche politica, delle identità, delle appartenenze e delle poetiche sociali, altro delegittimare come essenzializzante la storiografia *tout court* in quanto produttrice di categorie naturalizzate e presunti fantasmi politici⁵¹. In realtà, la ricerca storica produce conoscenze che costituiscono *approssimazioni* di verità su un dato oggetto di studio, non (o almeno non soltanto) “pretese di □verità”⁵² o leggende strumentali all’opera di agenti sociali mossi esclusivamente da ragioni identitarie e, in ultima istanza, politiche, cioè legate al “potere”⁵³.

Dovrebbe esser chiaro che la finalità della critica che qui si sta argomentando non è di voler misconoscere l’importanza della dimensione del potere nell’analisi dei fenomeni socio-culturali, bensì discutere la pretesa che tale dimensione sia preminente, e che debba diventare egemone nell’analisi antropologica sulla base di un suo presunto maggior grado di descrivibilità e interpretabilità della realtà sociale. Ma forse il problema di fondo riguarda più gli obiettivi dei due approcci che gli strumenti per raggiungerli: la storia mira alla *costruzione* di un passato per sua natura sempre perduto, l’antropologia alla *decostruzione* delle poetiche prodotte (per alcuni collateralmente, per altri precipuamente) proprio nell’operazione di costruzione del passato.

RIFONDARE O “SOLTANTO” REINTERPRETARE LO STUDIO DELLA TRADIZIONE

Penso sia opportuno ribadire che quanto è stato sostenuto finora non intende affatto escludere la decostruzione e le nuove tendenze dell’antropologia, come già

⁵¹ Per Palumbo la “storia”, così come il “presente” e il “passato”, è una categoria dell’“ordine discorsivo moderno” (Palumbo 2009: 300). La “storia” nei suoi scritti compare sempre come oggetto manipolato a fini identitari da agenti sociali, mai, o quasi mai, come “categoria” produttrice di conoscenza. Importanti osservazioni critiche su questa concezione della storia e della storiografia diffusa in certa antropologia dell’Europa più recente sono in Giordano 2012 e Macdonald 2013: 54. Valgano ancora le autorevoli considerazioni di E. Hobsbawm sulle tendenze “delle mode intellettuali postmoderne nelle università occidentali, soprattutto nei dipartimenti di letteratura ed antropologia, le quali insinuano che tutti i □fatti’ che pretendono di avere un’esistenza obiettiva sono soltanto costruzioni intellettuali. In breve, che non esiste una netta distinzione tra fatto e finzione. Ma essa c’è per gli storici, anche per quelli tra noi che sono più avversi al positivismo: la capacità di distinguere tra fatto e finzione è assolutamente fondamentale” (Hobsbawm 1997a: 18; cfr. anche Hobsbawm 1997b).

⁵² Palumbo 2009: 108.

⁵³ Non è difficile intuire in questa preminenza, ai limiti dell’esclusività, per la dimensione politica gli effetti di quella “post-modern obsession with power” (Bielskis 2009: 83) oggi denunciata da poche voci fuori dal coro, in antropologia (tra le poche, ricordo quelle, autorevoli, di M. Sahlin [Sahlins 2002] e M. Harris [Harris 2000, in particolare le pp. 99-101]; in Italia la critica più compiuta a questa concezione è stata intrapresa principalmente da F. Dei, in particolare, ma non solo, in Dei 2002). Padre intellettuale di questa “ossessione” sarebbe, di nuovo, F. Nietzsche, e in particolare il Nietzsche de *La volontà di potenza* (Nietzsche 1995).

ampiamente argomentato nelle precedenti pagine, abbiano portato salutari e anzi necessari contributi all'intelligenza dei fenomeni tradizionali. In particolare, e per tornare decisamente e conclusivamente all'argomento principale di queste pagine, cioè la tradizione, non vorrei che si leggesse questa mia discussione sul termine e sulla realtà cui esso rimanda come un'acritica presa di posizione "reazionaria". Al contrario, ritengo che i vizi e i pericoli speculari a quelli di cui si è discusso nelle precedenti pagine dovrebbero essere altrettanto chiaramente evocati, ed evitati: mi riferisco, soprattutto, a quelli legati alla credenza e all'uso, anche in sede scientifica, di versioni reificate o reificanti del concetto di tradizione⁵⁴, tanto più che la tradizione reificata è stata la principale responsabile di veri e propri miti storico-antropologici se non creati quantomeno sviluppati e disseminati dall'accademia: mitologie contemporanee, primitivismi, immaginari collettivi fondati su un passato idealizzato, "nostalgie strutturali"⁵⁵, "nostalgie del presente"⁵⁶ e altri tipi di romanticismi sono fenomeni che caratterizzano la vita sociale e culturale tanto delle aule universitarie che dei cinema e delle piazze.

Penso inoltre che sia il compito dell'antropologo dei mondi contemporanei il mettere in luce e interpretare correttamente tutti i processi e le dinamiche che caratterizzano, specie in contesti europei, quelle realtà culturali per cui S. Macdonald ha giustamente ed efficacemente proposto di utilizzare i concetti di "past presencing" e "memory complex"⁵⁷. Mi riferisco, più in particolare, a quelle pratiche di di attualizzazione e riattualizzazione del passato come quelle della costruzione e trasmissione della memoria sociale, della patrimonializzazione culturale, della invenzione delle tradizioni, della costruzione delle identità politiche, etniche e sociali sulla base delle tradizioni. Compito dell'antropologo è pure lo svelamento delle logiche nazionalistiche, localistiche, particolaristiche e campanilistiche inscritte in alcune forme narrative del passato come le pratiche tradizionali e *certi* saperi storiografici⁵⁸. Tuttavia, come ho suggerito nelle precedenti pagine, è importante tenere a mente che non tutte le tradizioni sono tipiche della – o posteriori alla – modernità, o sono prodotti dei discorsi degli statinazione, né che tutte le tradizioni siano espedienti politici per il raggiungimento, la conservazione o la destabilizzazione del potere. In breve, che le tradizioni, seppure

⁵⁴ In Italia una concezione di tradizione relativamente atemporale, statica e "tradizionale" (pre-Habsbawm, per così dire), si rinveniva, fino a pochissimi anni, fa anche in studiosi interessati appunto alle tradizioni popolari, e in particolare ai fenomeni festivi (e carnascialeschi specialmente). Non è forse un caso: le tradizioni festive, specie quelle di documentabile lunga permanenza nei calendari europei, sono quelle più conservative (Buttitta 2010, Bravo 2005, Grimaldi 2002, Le Goff 1979, Valeri 1979).

⁵⁵ Herzfeld 2003: 135-140.

⁵⁶ Quella di "nostalgia del presente" è una definizione di F. Jameson (Jameson 1989) ma che rimanda a una problematica presente già in M. Halbwachs (Halbwachs 1996 [1950]). Cfr. anche Appadurai 2001a: 48 e 2001b: 107, Macdonald 2013: *passim*, e Berliner 2012: 282.

⁵⁷ Macdonald 2013: 1-5.

⁵⁸ Al riguardo indicativa e anzi particolarmente pertinente è la ricerca di S. Sagnes sugli storici non-professionisti "locali" (Sagnes 2002).

sempre inventate, non sono sempre politiche, non soggiacciono necessariamente alle logiche della “micro-fisica del potere” – per coloro che credono nella realtà, e non nella mera sensazione, di un tale concetto –, e non sono sempre invenzioni della modernità, ma rispondono piuttosto a logiche e necessità socio-culturali diverse e contingenti, strutturandosi e prendendo forma simbolica come pratiche e rappresentazioni del passato le quali, in espressioni e modalità culturalmente determinate e anche diversissime tra loro, si reperiscono in tutte le società e in tutte le epoche.

Nella prima sezione di questo studio ho brevemente descritto, al fine di sostenere i miei argomenti, diversi esempi storici. Ora invece vorrei evocare, prima di avviarmi alla conclusione di questo scritto, alcuni esempi tratti dalle mie esperienze etnografiche in Italia (2010-2011) e in Repubblica Ceca (2013-2014). In entrambi i casi, mi sono occupato di tradizione, cultura festiva e patrimonializzazione culturale da un punto di vista tanto etnografico che storiografico (di storia culturale nella fattispecie). In entrambi i casi, ho condotto indagini etnografiche di medio e lungo periodo basate sulla pratica dell’osservazione partecipante e su altri metodi di indagine sanciti dalle metodologie della ricerca sociale⁵⁹.

Nel caso italiano, mi sono interessato alle tensioni e interrelazioni esistenti tra la “tradizione” che era l’oggetto precipuo della mia indagine (il carnevale di Castelnuovo al Volturno) e la “tradizione” in quanto concetto/dimensione socio-culturale al centro delle pratiche e poetiche sociali della comunità di riferimento. Ho cercato di capire come, in che modo e per quale ragione alcuni elementi indubitabilmente e documentabilmente dotati di profondità diacronica (cioè “trasmessi”) siano stati recuperati, valorizzati, e rifunzionalizzati, in un contesto caratterizzato, durante il ‘900 e fino a oggi, e a dispetto della sua “taglia”, da grandi e radicali cambiamenti sociali, e per quali ragioni altri elementi siano stati invece abbandonati, o siano stati oggetto di manipolazioni più radicali, e in alcuni casi conflittuali. Ho tentato di capire, in altre parole, le interconnessioni esistenti tra strutture sociali, pratiche rituali, memorie individuali e collettive, cultura festiva e tradizionalità nelle loro dimensioni tanto etnograficamente osservabili che storiche⁶⁰. Ne è risultato un quadro dinamico ma allo stesso tempo alquanto coerente con processi e fenomeni moderni e di modernizzazione di scala più ampia (nazionale, europea, addirittura globale) indagabili comparativamente. Soprattutto, ne è risultato un quadro in cui la tradizione non è concettualizzabile né come pura invenzione, né come esatta trasmissione, né come pratica esclusivamente moderna né come arcaico fossile culturale, ma come elemento di relazione al – e costruzione del – passato implicito e significativo in numerosi fatti e dinamiche sociali. Una dimensione semantica, retorica e strutturale per così dire inevitabile nei discorsi e

⁵⁹ I principali risultati di queste due ricerche sono stati – e saranno – presentati in diverse pubblicazioni: Testa 2014a, 2014b, 2016a, 2016b, 2016c, 2016d.

⁶⁰ Con qualche successo, sembra, viste le recensioni positive che il libro ha ricevuto finora in riviste nazionali e internazionali: Biasiori 2015, Bindi 2015, Dietz 2016, Gala Pellicer 2014, Mannia 2014.

nelle pratiche dei locali e dei non-locali coinvolti a vario titolo nell'esperienza tradizionale, ormai translocale e transcomunitaria, della festa, esperienza caratterizzata certo da discontinuità, rotture e sviluppi non-lineari, ma anche da indubbie continuità: come tutti i fatti sociali storici, il carnevale di Castelnuovo trascende l'*hic et nunc* dello sguardo etnografico, e si presta a esser pensato nei termini della continuità, della memoria, della trasmissione. Queste cose possono e devono essere contestualizzate e indagate storicamente. Esse mi hanno offerto la possibilità di comprendere gli sviluppi di un processo in cui gli attori sociali non sono soltanto mute espressioni di regimi di verità, relazioni di potere, o posizionamenti razionalmente ed utilitaristicamente determinati, ma agenti sociali che per l'appunto agiscono e interagiscono entro e con strutture, dinamiche e immaginari stratificati, confrontandosi con un fatto sociale totale (la loro festa di carnevale, il momento dell'anno più importante) che è lungi dall'essere una mera invenzione disponibile a qualsiasi sorta di interpretazione, manipolazione e uso a scopi esclusivamente identitari, o religiosi, o economici, o politici.

La constatazione e teorizzazione della poliedricità e complessità dei fatti "tradizionali" nelle loro dimensioni tanto sincroniche che diacroniche è d'altronde, e altresì, tra i risultati della seconda ricerca antropologica che ho menzionato. Anche in questo caso, il contesto di riferimento, una cittadina della Boemia orientale, è stato negli ultimi decenni caratterizzato da molti e radicali cambiamenti sociali. Anche in questo caso, ho dovuto considerare l'intrinseca conflittualità della nozione e della pratica della tradizione – non dimenticando il ruolo dell'etnografo, e il suo posizionamento nell'arena del campo etnografico –, e adattare i miei strumenti d'indagine e di interpretazione alla natura dell'oggetto della mia ricerca, alla sua problematicità epistemologica, alle sue irregolarità diacroniche, alle tensioni semantiche che caratterizzano la negoziazione dei significati come pure la loro consequenziale o causale circolazione tra ambiti etici ed emici. La conclusione è stata la medesima: è impossibile etichettare questi fenomeni e processi come il prodotto di dinamiche solamente "moderne" (una modernità da intendersi non nella mera accezione tipica della convenzionale periodizzazione storiografica, ma come macro-processo – o meglio insieme di processi – da contestualizzare e ricondurre – o individuare – all'interno di specifici contesti storici e culturali). Tali fenomeni e processi, al contrario, restano inestricabilmente interrelati alle loro dimensioni diacroniche, e alle caratterizzazioni di queste dimensioni che sono plasmate dagli agenti sociali coinvolti, sulla base di necessità dettate dalle contingenze e circostanze attuali e reali. La festa boema di cui mi sono occupato (il *masopust*), oggetto tra le altre cose della recente e ufficiale "patrimonializzazione" da parte dell'UNESCO, mi ha permesso di aprire un nuovo spiraglio sulla dimensione pan-europea, seppur declinata localmente, della tradizionalità, cioè di uno dei fattori reali, contestuali e conflittuali, che caratterizzano e determinano quel "identity-memory-heritage complex" ormai riscontrabile presso tutte le società europee contemporanee, secondo l'eminente opinione di S. Macdonald⁶¹. La "*tradice*"

⁶¹ Macdonald 2013.

(“tradizione” in Ceco) boema si è rivelata essere per molti aspetti simile, e certamente fruttuosamente comparabile, alla “tradizione” (o “*tradizionă*”, in gergo locale) molisana. Come questa, essa è oggetto di discussione e interpretazione e manipolazione perpetua, ma allo stesso tempo è caratterizzata da continuità che sono fortunatamente studiabili storicamente, e non necessariamente per ragioni “sempre politiche”. Una di queste continuità, che ho potuto riscontrare in entrambi i contesti, è quella della presenza di una idea di tradizione pienamente rispondente a quella “moderna” anche a partire da fonti (orali principalmente, ma non solo) che permettono di sondare le credenze dei locali in tempi precedenti alla modernizzazione di questi contesti – contesti rurali, piccoli, culturalmente isolati per secoli prima che le trasformazioni e accelerazioni avvenute grosso modo attorno alla metà del secolo scorso li coinvolgessero nel turbine dei macro-processi socio-culturali, economici, e politici che caratterizzano l’epoca tardo-moderna o post-moderna.

Per concludere, ribadisco che quella che si è fin qui articolata ed esemplificata è una posizione che si vuole ragionevole e critica, riflessiva ma non distruttiva, insieme decostruttiva e costruttiva, e finalizzata a una riproposta, su basi forse non nuove ma certamente più solide, del problema della tradizione e dei problemi a essa correlati, non ultimo quello di un approccio antropologicamente orientato ad altre forme di discorso sul passato e ad altri modelli di passato. In breve, ho cercato di delineare i contorni di una posizione intermedia che cerchi soluzioni teoriche e spazi dialettici interstiziali utili ad aggirare tanto le posizioni acritiche ed essenzializzanti dei vari primitivismi che quelle, talvolta corrosive e spesso appiattenti, del decostruzionismo radicale.

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ANTHROPOMÉTRIE ET DIMORPHISME SEXUEL CHEZ UNE SÉLECTION SPÉCIALE DES CERTAINS ADULTES DE ROUMANIE

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Abstract. The study of metrical characteristics of the adults from the filiation research from all the Romania's historical counties has as objectives the assessment of the phenotypical variability compared with data from the whole country coming from the Anthropological Atlases (furthermore referring to the hand and the ear) and the highlighting of sexual dimorphism. The sample is composed of 137 pairs (274 individuals, 137 males and 137 females). The originality of this group is the fact that it represents a special selection of pairs coming from a special temporal relationship in a special context, the anthropological research of filiation. The average values of dimensions and anthropological parameters of both sexes are closed to those calculated for the whole country. Nevertheless, a dimensional sexual dimorphism emphasized enough favoring the males is observed, and also significant and positive correlations showing a "matrimonial assortment" especially for the measurements and conformation of hand, ear, nose, stature, sitting height, leg, and facial width.

Keywords: anthropometry, phenotypical variability, sexual dimorphism, matrimonial assortment.

Une étude anthropométrique sur un groupe d'adultes qui proviennent de toutes les provinces historiques de Roumanie, pratiquement de tous ses départements, c'est d'abord une provocation de tester sa représentativité („qualité d'un échantillon constitué à correspondre à la population dont il est extrait", Larousse, 2008), en comparant sa structure anthropologique, ses valeurs moyennes avec les moyennes sur l'ensemble du pays publiées dans l'Atlas anthropologique de la Roumanie, I-er volume (Radu, Glavce, Bulai-Știrbu, 2011: 52-78). De plus, nous ajoutons aussi des données concernant l'anthropométrie de l'oreille externe et de la main, des données qui se retrouvent assez rarement dans les travaux anthropologiques roumains (Papilian, Velluda, 1940: 19; Milcu, Dumitrescu, 1961:108-109; 1966: 60-80; Schmidt, 1971: 85-92; 1977: 31-37; Vulpe, 1971: 93-98

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etc.). On sait que la main et l'oreille externe (le pavillon), parmi d'autres, sont des empreintes importantes du corps humain qui se caractérisent par une héritabilité appréciable (Susanne, 1971: 15), ayant aussi une valeur sémiologique (Vulpe, 2003: 99; Petrescu, 2013: 356).

La recherche de la filiation (plus fréquemment en paternité) est une recherche complexe, biomédicale et juridique, une démarche avec une résonance importante sur le plan social. Il faut souligner que nous avons respecté les normes éthiques et déontologiques en utilisant les données après la solution définitive des cas avec la protection de l'anonymat.

Nos travaux antérieurs sur les sujets d'expertises concernent des aspects biomédicaux, sociaux et des caractérisations morphophysionomiques des adultes et des enfants (Petrescu, 2014: 301; Luca, 2014: 250; Luca, 2014: 53).

Un aspect intéressant c'est la particularité du lot d'adultes, les paires femmes-hommes d'expertise représentant pour notre recherche une sélection spéciale d'une relation spéciale (excepté les 2-3 cas de mariage), relation fondée temporairement dans des circonstances spéciales.

MATÉRIEL ET MÉTHODES

Le matériel d'étude est représenté par 137 paires hommes-femmes auxquels nous avons ajouté, selon la sorte de l'expertise (ex. expertise élargie), aussi d'autres sujets parentés – mères, pères, frères etc. Le volume est fluctuant selon le caractère incriminé, l'âge de l'enfant, l'existence d'une moyenne-étalon, mais aussi à cause d'autres faits diverses: accidents, opérations, déformations au niveau d'une région, omission d'un mesurage etc. L'amplitude du volume est compris entre 85 (ex. pour la hauteur de la tête) et 143 sujets (ex. quelques mesurages céphalo-faciaux), entre 20-60 ans (30,46 ans – la moyenne pour les femmes et 36,21 ans – la moyenne pour les hommes). Des autres références concernant les sujets sont spécifiées dans les travaux antérieurs (Luca, 2014: 55; Petrescu, 2014: 301-307).

Pour ce travail nous avons sélectionné les phénotypes des 28 caractères: 11 dimensions et 9 indices au niveau céphalo-facial, respectivement 5 dimensions et 3 indices au niveau corporel selon la catégorie des caractères considérée conforme à l'expertise. (Tableaux 1 et 2).

On a appliqué des méthodes statistiques classiques, la statistique univariée pour calculer les valeurs moyennes, pour apprécier la variabilité phénotypiques, la comparaison avec les autres résultats obtenus sur l'ensemble du pays (Radu, 2011: 52-78; Vlădescu, 1999: 84-85; Luca, 1997: 109-110) et pour tester la certitude de la différence (t , z , χ^2). Nous avons aussi apprécié le dimorphisme sexuel et l'assortiment matrimonial par la statistique bivariée en appliquant les corrélations Brevais-Pearson et l'erreur de la corrélations. (Susanne, 1978: 73-79; Gittins, 1985: 13-67; Loftus, 1988: 435-526; Aron, 1997: 22-263).

Pour apprécier la variabilité phénotypique nous avons utilisé les mêmes échelles de variation (tableau 3) utilisées dans les Atlas (Vlădescu, Vulpe, 2005: 33-36; Vulpe, 2012: 23-26), mais pour l'indice nasal nous avons utilisé deux échelles, d'Eickstedt et celle „universelle” de Martin, la dernière, après notre avis, en caractérisant de façon plus objective la conformation du nez euroïde, inclusivement le nez des Roumains (tableau 3). La variabilité de la longueur de l'oreille externe a été estimée sur l'échelle de Martin pour les hommes et sur une échelle modifiée par H. et Marta Dumitrescu pour les femmes (Dumitrescu, 1961: 78-109). La variabilité de la conformation de la main a été appréciée sur deux échelles, Vallois et Martin-Schlaginhausen (Petrescu, 2013: 356-361).

Tableau 1

Valeurs moyennes des dimensions et indices. Hommes

Caractère	N	amplitude	M	DS	CV	z1	z2	z3
g-op	142	176-204	187,61	6,83	3,64	0,42	0,46	0,34
eu-eu	143	137-178	159,22	5,92	3,72	0,5	0,58	0,51
ft-ft	140	95-126	112,56	4,75	4,22	0,1	0,16	0
zy-zy	142	130-157	144,33	5,81	4,03	0,29	0,31	0,36
go-go	143	91-131	109,07	6,74	6,18	-0,16	-0,11	-0,24
n-gn	143	108-138	124,42	6,02	4,84	-0,08	-0,09	0,04
n-sn	141	41-70	56,35	4,18	7,42	0,23	0,19	0,52
al-al	141	30-42	35,55	2,86	8,05	0,28	0,19	0,34
t-v	85	115,5-140	126,48	4,91	3,88	0,15	0,14	0,34
pa-pra	134	29-46,5	37,28	2,78	7,46			
sa-sba	134	55-80	66,2	4,67	7,05			
IC	142	74-96,73	85	4,08	4,8	0,07	0,08	0,13
IVL	85	61,11-74,87	67,18	2,93	4,36	-0,26	-0,3	-0,34
IVT	85	72,65-89,14	79,54	3,58	4,5	-0,21	-0,28	0,15
IFP	140	58,28-80,77	70,76	3,24	4,58	-0,46		-0,25
IFZ	140	69,34-85,4	77,82	2,96	3,8	-0,19	-0,15	-0,03
IGZ	142	63,51-85,71	75,4	4,29	5,69	-0,44	-0,4	-0,58
IF	142	76,31-98,48	86,22	4,63	5,37	-0,28	-0,27	-0,22
IN	140	49,24-78,35	63,31	6,28	9,91	0,06	0	-0,22
IO	134	44,62-66,41	56,37	4,45	7,89			0,29
Taille	106	1577-1922	1733,08	72,49	4,18	0,81	0,82	0,63
T-assise	104	813-1095	912,35	55,86	6,12	0,71	0,87	0,74
Long.m.i.	104	716-939	818,94	43,88	5,36	0,5	0,52	
mm-ml	112	77,25-98	86,9	4,4	5,06			
sty-da	112	165-212	180,81	10,1	5,59			
I.chorm.	104	49,46-58,09	53,46	4,89	9,15	0,49	0,46	0,6
I.skél.	104	72,13-102,19	89,55	5,29	5,91		0	-0,1
I.main	112	41,46-64,34	48,32	3,13	6,48			

Tableau 2

Valeurs moyennes des dimensions et indices. Femmes

Caractère	N	amplitude	M	DS	CV	z1	z2	z3
g-op	143	151-195	177,74	6,64	3,74	0,19	0,21	0,1
eu-eu	143	134-174	150,22	5,83	3,88	0,02	0,04	0,02
ft-ft	140	85-120	106,6	5,14	4,82	-0,46	-0,29	-0,16
zy-zy	143	120-156	134,78	4,88	3,62	0,07	0,1	0,14
go-go	143	90-115	100,87	5,6	5,55	-0,31	-0,23	-0,41
n-gn	140	102-128	114,65	5,8	5,06	-0,01	-0,06	0,13
n-sn	142	42-64	53,18	4,03	7,58	0,34	0,24	0,57
al-al	143	25-39	32,04	2,82	8,8	0,17	0,09	0,22
t-v	85	106-134,5	120,55	5,68	4,71	-0,07	-0,1	-0,33
pa-pra	134	29,5-41,5	33,72	3,51	10,41			
sa-sba	134	51-70	61,43	4,49	7,31			
IC	143	76,22-95,56	84,58	3,87	4,58	-0,1	-0,1	-0,05
IVL	85	61,44-77,01	67,95	3,65	5,37	-0,17	-0,21	-0,23
IVT	85	70,35-91,16	80,24	4,48	5,58	-0,1	-0,14	-0,11
IFP	140	63,76-80,54	70,96	2,83	3,99	-0,65		-0,47
IFZ	139	67,95-91,45	79,24	3,27	4,13	-0,36	-0,31	-0,32
IGZ	142	66,42-88,46	74,83	4,12	5,51	-0,41	-0,35	-0,54
IF	139	70,15-98,43	84,98	5,1	6	-0,09	-0,08	-0,01
IN	142	46,87-78	60,48	6,24	10,32	-0,18	-0,2	-0,32
IO	134	45,8-76,14	55,67	4,36	7,83			-0,09
Taille	104	1492-1792	1602,4 1	64,1	4	0,69	0,66	0,38
T-assise	103	773-1020	862,99	38,17	4,42	0,72	0,75	0,53
Long.m.i.	103	651-871	737,85	43,06	5,84	0,29	0,26	
mm-ml	111	66-86,5	76,26	3,94	5,17			
sty-da	111	146-192	164,5	9,28	5,64			
I.chorm.	103	50,39-59,97	54,35	3,54	6,51	0,47	0,46	0,48
I.skél.	103	69,61-98,45	85,64	5,69	6,64	-0,08	-0,18	-0,34
I.main	111	39,69-64,46	46,6	2,82	6,05			

RÉSULTATS ET DISCUSSIONS

1. CARACTÉRISATION ANTHROPOMÉTRIQUE DES ADULTES (tableaux 1-3, figures 1 et 2)

1.1. Valeurs moyennes (tableaux 1 et 2)

Chez **les hommes**, la calotte céphalique se caractérise, moyennement, par un diamètre longitudinal (g-op) longue, un diamètre transversal (eu-eu) large, un diamètre vertical (t-v) haut au début et un front (ft-ft) large à la limite supérieure de la catégorie de variation. L'indice céphalique (IC) indique brachycéphalie vers la limite supérieure. La hauteur de la tête rapportée au diamètre longitudinal (IVL) s'inscrit dans la catégorie d'hypsicéphalie (subdivision d'hypsicéphalie modérée) et rapportée au

diamètre transversal (IVT) se situe au début de la catégorie métriocéphale. La largeur du front rapportée à la tête (IFP) se place au début de la métriométopie.

Au niveau des dimensions faciaux, les hommes ont, moyennement, une largeur faciale (zy-zy) au début de la catégorie large, une largeur mandibulaire (go-go) moyenne, une face haute (n-gn) au début, un nez haut (n-sn) au début et moyen en largeur (al-al) à la limite supérieure de la catégorie. Concernant les indices, la largeur du front rapportée à la face (IFZ) est moyenne, la largeur mandibulaire (IGZ) est moyenne au début. L'indice morphologique facial (IF) indique, moyennement, mésoprosopie. Le nez IN) en échelle d'Eickstedt a une conformation moyenne mésorhine tandis qu'en échelle universelle ceci est leptorhine.

Corporellement, les hommes ont une stature moyenne grande et une taille-assise surmoyenne. Les proportions corporelles, illustrées par l'indice cormique et l'indice skélique, se caractérisent par macrocormie au début, respectivement, par mésatiskélie à la limite supérieure de la catégorie de variation.

Au niveau céphalique, **les femmes** ont, moyennement, les deux diamètres horizontaux au début de la catégorie longue, respectivement, large. Le diamètre vertical est haut au début de la catégorie et le front est large. Les conformations réalisées par les dimensions mises en rapport caractérisent les femmes par brachycéphalie, hypsicéphalie modérée, métriocéphalie et eurymétopie.

Concernant les dimensions faciaux absolues, les femmes se caractérisent, moyennement, par une largeur faciale moyenne à la limite supérieure, une mandibule large, une face haute au début, un nez haut et d'une largeur moyenne au début de la catégorie de variation. Les valeurs moyennes des indices expriment un front moyen par rapport à la face, une largeur mandibulaire moyenne, une face mésoprosopie à la limite supérieure et un nez leptorhin sur l'échelle universelle ou mésorhin au début de la catégorie sur l'échelle trop exigeant d'Eickstedt.

Les femmes ont aussi, moyennement, une stature grande et une taille-assise surmoyenne. La moyenne de l'indice cormique s'inscrit en macrocormie et ceci de l'indice skélique en mésatiskélie au début de la catégorie.

1.2. Comparaisons avec les valeurs moyennes sur l'ensemble du pays (tableaux 1 et 2)

Les valeurs moyennes des dimensions et indices des adultes de deux sexes ont été comparées avec trois séries des valeurs moyennes concernant l'ensemble du pays, valeurs publiées dans l'Atlas anthropologique de la Roumanie (z1), dans l'Atlas anthropologique de la Munténie (z2) et dans une thèse de 1997 (z3). Les trois séries ont à la base les données collectées dans les recherches anthropologiques des communautés des habitants autochtones roumains.

La comparaison met en évidence les ressemblances frappantes entre notre „sélection” d'adultes venus à l'expertise de tous les coins du pays et les trois séries de valeurs moyennes. Les valeurs moyennes calculées par nous se situent pour tous les caractères anthropométriques dans l'intervalle „ $M \pm \sigma$ ” par rapport aux trois séries de moyennes sur l'ensemble du pays. Ceci prouve la qualité de notre lot

d'adultes „d'être constitué de façon à correspondre à la population dont il est extrait", autrement dit, à la population roumaine.

1.3. Variabilité anthropométrique (tableaux 3)

Notre commentaire suivant analyse la variabilité phénotypiques des conformations illustrées par les indices céphaliques, faciaux et corporels, des caractères qui constituent la base de caractérisation d'une typologie anthropologique. Mais dans le tableau 3 on peut voir aussi la variabilité des dimensions absolues de tous niveaux.

Les valeurs individuelles de l'indice céphalique, proportion entre les deux diamètres horizontaux, se répartissent chez les hommes prédominant dans les catégories hyperbrachy- et brachycéphalie, la courbe de variation étant orientée faiblement vers mésocéphalie. Comparativement, par leurs phénotypes, les femmes se situent, prédominant, en brachycéphalie et, aproximativement également, en méso- et hyperbrachycéphalie. Rapportée aux deux diamètres horizontaux céphaliques, la hauteur de la tête varie assez similaire chez les deux sexes. Pour l'indice vertico-longitudinal prédomine nettement la hypsicéphalie et pour l'indice vertico-transversal la métriocéphalie et tapeinocéphalie, chez les femmes la courbe de variation étant orientée significativement aussi vers accrocéphalie. Les phénotypes de la largeur du front rapportée à la tête se trouvent nettement davantage dans la catégorie des front larges, eurymétropiques, en variant faiblement vers metriométopie.

Au niveau du visage, chez les deux sexes, la largeur relative du front est prédominant moyenne et la largeur mandibulaire est étroite et/ou moyenne. Les phénotypes de l'indice facial varient entre euryprosopie et leptoprosopie chez les hommes et, significativement, chez les femmes, se trouvent prédominant dans leptoprosopie variant vers mésoprosopie. Les valeurs individuelles de l'indice nasal, en échelle d'Eickstedt, se répartissent dans toutes les catégories, davantage dans mésorhine, camaerhine, et leptorhine. En analysant la distribution des phénotypes de la conformation nasale sur l'échelle „universelle", de Martin, accordée aux conformations qui caractérisent les européens (les noirs ont un nez caractéristique camaerhin ou même hypercamaerhin!), le nez des adultes de deux sexes est nettement leptorhin, chez les femmes en variant faiblement vers hyperleptorhin.

Corporellement, en ce qui concerne la stature, avec une variabilité assez large, chez les deux sexes prédominent les phénotypes grands (>40%) et pour la taille-assise les phénotypes surmoyens (>50%) et moyens (28-32%). La proportion du buste dans la stature, illustrée par l'indice cormique, varie davantage dans les deux catégories – métriocormie et macrocormie – chez les femmes presque également ($\approx 45\%$) tandis que chez les hommes les phénotypes enregistrent un poids plus grand dans métriocormie (50%). Les valeurs individuelles de l'indice skélique de Manouvrier se cantonnent chez les hommes davantage en mésatiskélie et submacroskélie tandis que chez les femmes, se distribuent, significativement, presque également, davantage, en mésatiskélie et sous-brachyskélie.

Tableau 3

Variabilité phénotypique des certains caractères des sujets sur les échelles de variation

Caractère/	Catégories de variation phénotypique											
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
sexe												
g-op	très court		court		moyen		long		très long			
hommes			5	3,52	56	39,44	53	37,32	28	19,72		
femmes	1	0,7	8	5,59	58	40,56	53	37,06	23	16,08		
eu-eu	très étroit		étroit		moyen		large		très large			
hommes			3	2,1	34	23,78	76	53,15	30	20,98		
femmes			9	6,29	57	39,86	67	46,85	10	6,99		
t-v	très bas		bas		moyen		haut		très haut			
hommes			3	3,53	36	42,35	39	45,88	7	8,24		
femmes			4	4,71	32	37,65	40	47,06	9	10,59		
ft-ft	très étroit		étroit		moyen		large		très large			
hommes			1	0,71	8	5,71	80	57,14	51	36,43		
femmes	1	0,71	1	0,71	26	18,57	74	52,86	38	27,14		
zy-zy	très étroit		étroit		moyen		large		très large			
hommes	1	0,7	5	3,52	57	40,14	64	45,07	15	10,56		

femmes	1	0,7	14	9,79	63	44,06	55	38,46	10	6,99		
go-go	très étroit		étroit		moyen		large		très large			
hommes	8	5,59	23	16,08	59	41,26	32	22,38	21	14,69		
femmes			7	4,9	47	32,87	54	37,76	35	24,48		
n-gn	très bas		bas		moyen		haut		très haut			
hommes	3	2,1	16	11,19	43	30,07	47	32,87	34	23,78		
femmes	2	1,43	13	9,29	47	33,57	48	34,29	30	21,43		
n-sn	très bas		bas		moyen		haut		très haut			
hommes	6	4,26	20	14,18	33	23,4	41	29,08	41	29,08		
femmes	4	2,82	11	7,75	35	24,65	42	29,58	50	35,21		
al-al	très étroit		étroit		moyen		large		très large			
hommes	2	1,42	33	23,4	58	41,13	37	26,24	11	7,8		
femmes	15	10,49	46	32,17	56	39,16	22	15,38	4	2,8		
IC	hyperdolicho-		dolichocéph.		mésocéphalie		brachicéph.		hyperbrachi-	ultra- bra- chi-		
hommes			3	2,11	22	15,49	51	35,92	61	42,96	5	3,52
femmes			2	1,4	36	25,17	60	41,96	40	27,97	5	3,5
IVL	canacécephalie		orthocéph.		hypsicéphalie		(subhypsi-		hypsi-	hyperthy- psi-)		
hommes			7	8,24	78	91,76	63	74,12	15	17,65		

femmes			7	8,24	78	91,76	55	64,71	23	27,05		
IVT	tapéinocéph.		métriocéph.		acrocéphalie		(subacro-		acrocéph.	hyperac-	ro-)	
hommes	40	46,51	42	48,84	4	4,65	4	4,65				
femmes	32	37,65	39	45,88	14	16,47	12	14,12	2	2,35		
IFP	hypersténo-		sténométope		métriométope		euryométope		hypereury-			
hommes	1	0,71	5	3,57	31	22,14	91	65	12	8,57		
femmes			5	3,57	25	17,86	99	70,71	11	7,86		
IFZ	très étroit		étroit		moyen		large		très large			
hommes	2	1,43	18	12,86	92	65,71	26	18,57	2	1,43		
femmes	6	4,32	22	15,83	92	66,19	16	11,51	3	2,16		
IGZ	très étroit		étroit		moyen		large		très large			
hommes	12	8,45	54	38,03	50	35,21	23	16,2	3	2,11		
femmes	6	4,23	44	30,99	59	41,55	27	19,01	6	4,23		
IF	hypereurypr.		euryprosopie		mésoprosopie		leptoprosopie		hyperlepto-	ultralep	topr.	
hommes	7	4,93	43	30,28	41	28,87	41	28,87	10	7,04		
femmes	13	9,35	13	9,35	32	23,02	63	45,32	18	12,95		
IN	hyperleptorh.		leptorhinie		mésorhinie		camærhinie		hypercamæ-			
hommes	14	10	109	77,86	17	12,14						

femmes	30	21,13	98	69,01	14	9,86													
Taille	petite																		
hommes	3	2,83	4	3,77	16	15,09	16	15,09	50	47,17	17	16,04							
femmes			10	9,62	14	13,46	25	24,04	44	42,31	11	10,58							
T-assise	petite																		
hommes			7	6,73	29	27,88	52	50	13	12,5	3	2,88							
femmes			4	3,88	33	32,04	55	53,4	8	7,77	3	2,91							
Icormique	brachicorne																		
hommes	10	9,62	52	50	42	40,38													
femmes	10	9,71	47	45,63	46	44,66													
I.skélique	hyperbrachi-																		
hommes	4	3,85	1	0,96	9	8,65	39	37,5	36	34,62	13	12,5							
femmes	6	5,83	7	6,8	35	33,98	33	32,04	16	15,53	6	5,83							
hypermacroskèle																			
											hommes								2
											femmes								

1.4. Variabilité de l'oreille externe et de la main (Figures 1 et 2)

Chez les hommes, l'oreille externe, plus grande significativement en largeur (pa-pra) et en longueur (sa-sba) par rapport aux femmes, a une longueur moyennement grande, de type macrot, avec une variabilité phénotypique où prédominent nettement les valeurs individuelles grandes ($\approx 65\%$) et puis les moyennes (de type mésot). Dans la même échelle, les femmes répartissent leurs phénotypes dans les catégories de longueur plus petite, davantage en mésot et microt. Sur l'échelle modifiée par Horia et Marta Dumitrescu (Dumitrescu, 1961: 78-79), les phénotypes de la longueur de l'oreille se placent prédominant aussi dans la catégorie des oreilles grandes, macrotes ($\approx 56\%$), le poids des oreilles mésotes étant significativement plus grand par rapport aux hommes. La valeur moyenne de la longueur auriculaire s'inscrit chez les femmes dans le début de la catégorie macrot.

La conformation de la main (mm-ml/sty-da = l'indice de la main, ou largeur/longueur) est apprécié sur deux échelles, Vallois, concernant la largeur relative, respectivement Martin- Schlaginhaufen qui caractérise la longueur relative. Ainsi, les hommes ont une moyenne de l'indice large (eurycheir) au début de la catégorie en échelle Vallois avec les phénotypes prédominants dans cette catégorie (58%), la courbe de variation étant dirigée vers les mains de largeur moyenne ($>39\%$). Les femmes groupent significativement les plus phénotypes ($>70\%$) dans la catégorie de largeur moyenne en dirigeant la variation vers les mains larges. Dans l'échelle de Martin, où aussi les deux sexes se différencient significativement par la variation, les hommes ont une main moyennement courte (brachycheir) et les phénotypes prédominants dans la catégorie respective mais ayant des poids importants de mains de longueur moyenne ou très courtes (22-24%). Les femmes, en même échelle, ont moyennement une main de longueur moyenne à la limite supérieure de la catégorie et, par rapport aux hommes, les plus phénotypes ($\approx 48\%$) se trouvent dans la catégorie moyenne, la variation se dirigeant vers les mains courtes (33%).

2. DIMORPHISME SEXUEL ET ASSORTIMENT MATRIMONIAL

(Figures 3 et 4)

2.1. Dimorphisme sexuel (Fig. 3)

La variabilité des phénotypes anthropométriques des adultes étudiés a prouvé une série de différences significatives (χ^2) entre les deux sexes concernant la distribution en catégories de variation (voir chap. 1.3 et 1.4). Concernant les différences significatives entre les valeurs moyennes (t), on remarque un dimorphisme assez accentué au niveau de toutes les dimensions absolues céphalo-faciaux et corporelles en faveur des hommes, les plus grandes différences étant pour la largeur de la main, la largeur faciale, la hauteur faciale, la stature, la longueur du membre inférieur, la largeur céphalique etc.

2.2. Assortiment matrimonial (Fig. 4)

Les corrélations concernent seulement les paires d'adultes qui ont été soumises à expertise de paternité et les dimensions absolues (excepté la main et l'oreille externe), en considérant que les indices sont des caractères déduits (Susanne, 1971: 73-79; 1978: 15). Excepté la longueur et la hauteur de la tête et la hauteur morphologique faciale, les paires réalisent des corrélations positives et significatives pour toutes les autres caractères. Les plus fortes corrélations on constate au niveau corporel: conformation de la main, taille-assise, stature, longueur de la main.

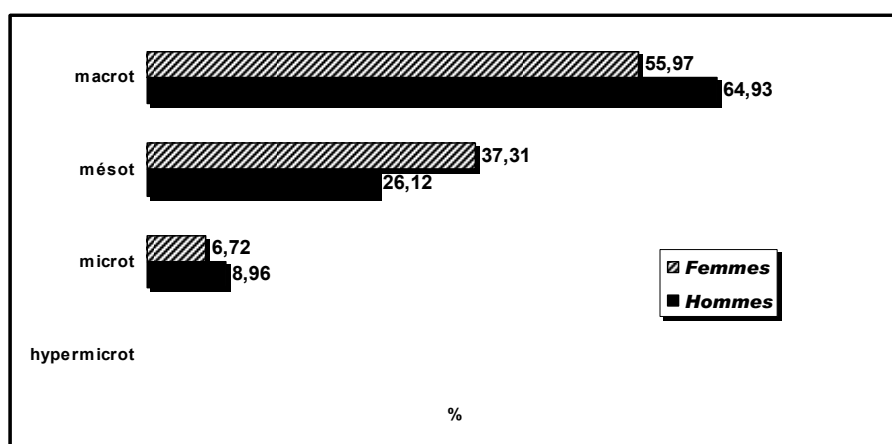


Figure 1. Variabilité de la longueur de l'oreille externe (sa-sba) (éch. Martin, pour femmes H., M., Dumitrescu) (%).

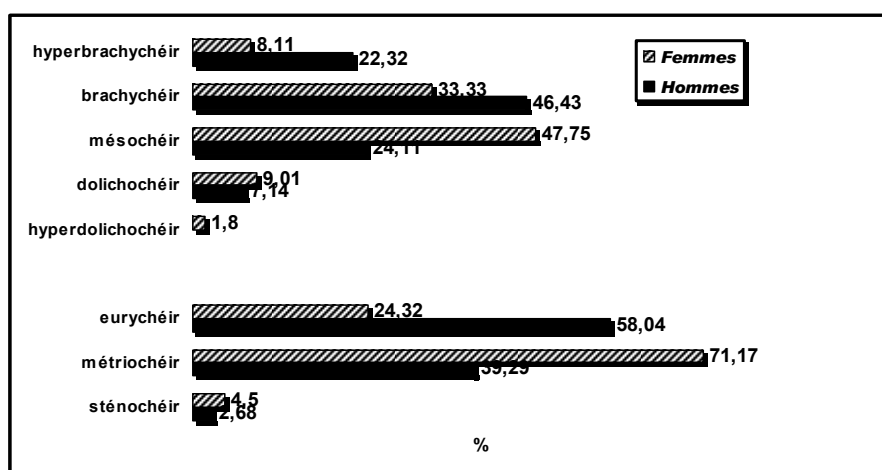


Figure 2. Variabilité de l'indice de la main (éch. Vallois et Martin) (%).

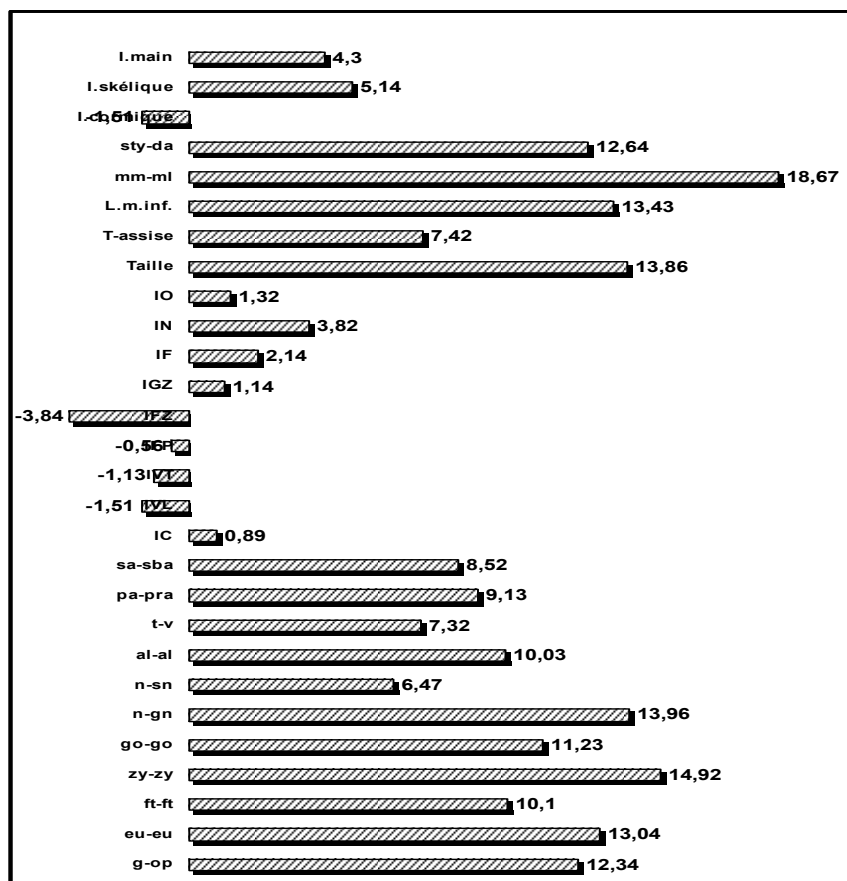


Figure 3. Dimorphisme sexuel (t).

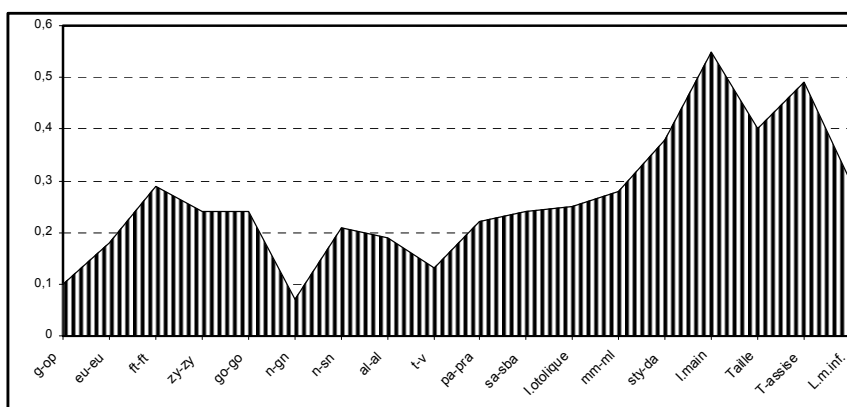


Figure 4. Assortiment matrimonial. Corrélations.

CONCLUSIONS

Les conclusions s'ensuivent en partant de quelques aspects concernant la particularité du lot de notre recherche: les circonstances spéciaux dont on a déterminé la sélection des paires, la provenance des sujets de toutes les provinces historique de la Roumanie, l'examen de la recherche en paternité qui représente le facteur commun des sujets et, en même temps, le caractère aléatoire de la constitution du lot.

1. Nos résultats concernant les caractéristiques anthropométriques moyennes du lot étudié par rapport aux valeurs moyennes de l'ensemble du pays se ressemblent avec ceci, toutes les moyennes de deux sexes en variant dans l'intervalle „ $M \pm DS$ ” et les plus ? se situent dans la même catégorie de l'échelle de variation correspondante, excepté la stature (grande), taille-assise (surmoyenne) et l'indice cormique (macrocormie).

2. Les différences et aussi les corrélations entre les deux sexes concernant les phénotypes anthropométriques mettent en évidence un dimorphisme sexuel accentué et un „assortiment matrimonial” très fort.

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Marieke M. A. Hendriksen, *Elegant Anatomy. The Eighteenth-Century Leiden Anatomical Collections* (History of Science and Medicine Library, 47), Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2015, xi + 249 pp.

Review by Alexandra Ion*

« Two infant hands in jars, lifelike in lace sleeves, hands rising upwards in their phials, one of them holding a flimsy red piece of tissue on a string, the other lifts a vulva tied to a lacy ribbon » (p. 75). Historical anatomical collections often comprise surprising, wonderful or shocking specimens for the modern eye, and it is the task of the historian of science to attempt to understand their creation, use and reception. With this volume, Marieke Hendriksen, a historian of medicine from the Utrecht University, follows in the line of studies concerned with the history and composition of anatomical collections (e.g. Alberti 2011; Hallam 2016; Knoeff and Zwijnenberg 2015)¹, but takes an original line of inquiry by focusing on the very materiality of the specimens. Placed at the intersection of material culture studies, history of science, art and philosophy, Hendriksen's approach aims at shifting the focus of the analysis from the creators of such collections, to the materiality of the specimens in order to answer questions such as why they look the way they do, why they were created in the first place, or how they were viewed.

The analysis centres on the 18th century Leiden anatomical collections, currently housed in several institutions – Leiden University Medical Centre's Anatomical Museum, Leiden Museum Boerhaave, and Leiden based Dutch Museum of History of Science and Medicine, some being on display, while others are kept behind closed doors. In the eight chapters of the book, the author reflects on the various forms taken by these specimens, dividing the analysis between mercury injected specimens, embellished specimens, « monsters », « colonial bodies », and bone specimens. It is Hendriksen's contention that these artefacts are the result of a different kind of anatomical culture, a certain epistemic culture characterised by the concept of « aesthesis ».

The originality of her perspective lies in the use of this concept, seen as an analytical tool that can unfold the many layers of significance embedded in these wet and dry artefacts. In essence, the author's argument is that the concept of aesthesis helps us understand these objects as the results of a certain epistemic (anatomical) culture focused on tacit and sensory knowledge, a manipulation of elegance and beauty, and on processes of commodification of bodies and body parts (p. 12).

Following the introduction (Chapter 1), which traces the context of the analysis, the entire second chapter is devoted to defining and exploring the use of this concept of aesthesis. Even though, as Hendriksen acknowledges, the term was used only sparingly during the 18th century – which places the analysis in line with Nick Jardine's proposed « anachronistic conceptualism » (p. 109) – she finds it a useful concept that can explain the creation of these artefacts which stir both wonder and disgust and pose a challenge for the contemporary viewer. In the use of the concept of « aesthesis » lies both the strength and the limits of her perspective. On the one hand, the use of this concept can prove a fruitful endeavour, as it tries to explain the morphology of the specimens in close relation to

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¹ Samuel J. M. M. Alberti, *Morbid Curiosities: Medical Museums in Nineteenth-Century Britain*. Oxford: OUP Oxford, 2011; Elizabeth Hallam, *Anatomy Museum. Death and the Body Displayed*. London: Reaktion Books, 2016; Rina Knoeff and R. Zwijnenberg (Eds.), *The Fate of Anatomical Collections*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2015.

the processes and questions which shaped them – and for the 18th century, as the author stresses, philosophy, medicine, alchemy and aesthetics were intertwined and overlapping categories. Therefore, she brings together objects, scientific knowledge, techniques and reception in order to understand specimens as the result of a certain epistemic culture. This gives the analysis an organic character, similar to the brilliant approach proposed by Elizabeth Hallam and Timothy Ingold (2014)² who talk about artefacts as being made and grown, similar to organic life, seeing them as the result of processes in which creativity, perception and knowledge are intertwined; in their words, the analysis should trace how « form is emergent within the field of human relations » (Hallam and Ingold 2014: 5). Similarly, Hendriksen demonstrates convincingly how several anatomical specimens grew out of a complex network of concepts, from the desire to create lasting visual anatomical archives, fit for bringing into view the latest medical knowledge, to a sensory engagement of the anatomist with the materiality of the human body, from a quest for beauty to philosophical underpinnings of the value of human anatomy and of the substances used to intervene in the process of its preservation. From a different angle, in part due to objective limitations – the information available – Hendriksen employs examples which are not always contemporary, moving back and forth between anatomists and their wider intellectual context, which raises the question of how appropriate they are for supporting the thesis of « aesthesis ». While the use of a concept which might have been foreign to the 18th century anatomists is not an impediment in itself, on the contrary (see Nick Jardine's discussion on the need of anachronistic terms in the history of science)³, at times I would have preferred to see a more convincing argumentation that there is an inextricable difference between these practices and later ones: for example, even in the 19th or 20th century the creation of anatomical specimens involved a mixture of tacit knowledge, sensory perception, a quest for beauty (regardless of how this was defined) and an overlapping of « material and metaphor » (Hallam 2014: 66; see for example Hallam's analysis of anatomopoeia in mid-20th century London⁴). It is certain that there are differences, but maybe the analysis would have benefited from a more extensive description of how these specimens were used and viewed, in order to bring forth what contributed to them being different. However, this takes nothing away from the extensively researched analysis, which patiently pieces together the practices of body preservation in 18th century Leiden in all their fine details, following in turn several paths of inquiry.

Chapter 3 is devoted to 'Quicksilver Anatomy', dealing with a series of mercury injected specimens attributed to the anatomist Eduard Sandifort (1742-1814). As the chapter unfolds, the material values of mercury are explored, from its chemical, medicinal, injecting mass for the lymphatic system and aesthetic qualities. The chapter places these specimens in the history of the use of mercury for anatomy, charting the changes and values ascribed to this element. From here, the analysis moves to the preparations of two famous anatomists (Chapter 4), Frederik Ruysch (1638-1731) and Bernard Siegfried Albinus (1697-1770), specimens in which body parts are adorned with several materials, from lace to plants and twigs, giving birth to real compositions. The author deciphers these creations as demonstrations of anatomical skill – anatomy as art, regulations of disgust in the face of severed limbs and as embedding metaphors regarding the practice of anatomy.

In the next chapter (5), "monstrous" bodies take centre-stage, which can, according to the author, demonstrate the link between a negotiation of deformity within a wider teleological perspective in which perfection of the human body was seen as God's creation, and did not necessarily equate with beauty. Chapter 6 is devoted to several specimens labelled as «colonial bodies» – the so-called «beaded babies», African or Asian babies decorated with beads. The chapter

² Elizabeth Hallam and Tim Ingold (eds.), *Making and Growing. Anthropological Studies of Organisms and Artefacts*. London: Routledge, 2014.

³ Nick Jardine, *Uses and Abuses of Anachronism in the History of the Sciences*. *History of Science*, vol. 38, 2000: 251-270.

⁴ Elizabeth Hallam, "Anatomopoeia" in Elizabeth Hallam and Tim Ingold (eds.), *Making and Growing. Anthropological Studies of Organisms and Artefacts*. London: Routledge, 2014, p. 65-88.

is a complex investigation into the origin of the specimens and their creators, all placed within the larger context of Dutch colonial trade and the commodification of bodies. The last Chapter (7) moves the analysis towards the end of the « aesthesis epoch », traced by looking at the materiality of bone specimens, and the use of simultaneous preservation methods (see pp.191). This is the only chapter dealing with dry specimens.

The book concludes with re-stating the value of Hendriksen's concept, and raises the important issues of the preservation of such collections and their accessibility. This last point is extremely relevant for any curator and institution holding anatomical/historical human remains collections, as the question « what should we do with these collections? » is a pressing one. In the particular case of Romania, this is also a relevant question in the light of the legacy of the anthropologist and anatomist Francisc I. Rainer, from his dry specimens to tissue samples and wet specimens. Hendriksen's analysis is a very good example of how we can always find a fresh perspective that can help us better understand these specimens as part of the cultural history of the body, stressing in the process the importance of their materiality. Therefore, this book is a welcome addition to the studies dealing with such collections, especially because it moves from traditional historical accounts and proposes an investigation into the very material layers of these specimens, a « back to the object » approach. This can be illuminating and inspiring for any researcher or museum curator dealing with preserved human remains, and hopefully it will provoke a wider discussion between the fields of material culture studies and history of science.

Séverine Langneaux, *Éternel Provisoire. Ethnographie de la paysannerie roumaine à l'heure européenne*, l'Harmattan, Paris, 2016, 316 pp.

Review by Gabriel Stoiciu*

Séverine Lagneaux has a PhD in anthropology and works as a researcher at Fund for Scientific Research – FNRS and also at Université Chrétienne de Louvain. Presently, she is leading researches on human-animal relationships in various technical milieus, especially on cattle farming in Belgium, France and Romania.

The book is based on the doctoral thesis prepared by the author at Université Chrétienne de Louvain. It presents a fieldwork carried out between 2002 and 2007 in Romania, particularly in Mijloace village of Banat region. The core concept and also a unit of analysis of this research is *gospodărie* (Romanian term for household) approached from a well-documented historical perspective, but most of all it is meticulously tackled as the main agent of post-communist rural development. *Gospodărie* means the residence of a gospodar or hospodar, ancient Slavonic term for nobleman or landlord or even for the ruler of a Romanian principate. In modern times *gospodar* is represented by any owner of a rural household, but sometimes it characterizes only the most diligent villagers. Most rural inhabitants of Banat region deserve to be called *gospodari* in the most prestigious understand of the term – it is the fact that the author succeeds to illustrate throughout this industrious study. A Romanian proverb says “Omul sfințește locul” [It is the man who sanctifies the place (where he lives and /or works)]; the ethnographic material of S. Lagneaux presents a community as whole and individual cases of several members remarkable by their determination to overcome any difficulties brought by acts of nature or society.

The book opens with a factual description of people and places studied by the author. The Mijloace community composed mostly by Romanian ethnic population has been benefiting since

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2000 from the presence of three foreign farmers: two Belgian and one Italian – who came here to invest in local agricultural resources.

The first chapter describes in detail the status-quo of post-communist Mijloace's social and economic life with a particular tone given to recent transformations caused by Romania's becoming a member of European Union.

The second chapter brings the historical perspective over a period between 1718 (the annexation of Banat by the Hapsburg empire) and 1989 (the fall of Ceausescu's communist regime). It is an overview of identitarian mutations imposed by different ruling systems on small communities.

With the third chapter till the last one, the author progresses into a detailed and enriching anthropological research material on Mijloace's community life, illustrated by elaborate interviews and insightful case-studies.

The series of interviews and the case-studies described in the book capture a wide variety of opinions, perceptions and aspirations concerning the everyday life and work conditions of Romania's rural inhabitants. There are presented different perspectives on topics like community and family life, historical events and the shaping of local identity, rapt, torments, deportations and coping strategies during communist regime, the particularities of occupational transformations in the rural space caused by post-communist transition, Romanian authorities present actions and EU integration challenges, relationships of Mijloace villagers with newly-arrived Belgian and Italian farmer-employers.

A particular issue which arises in each of the ten chapters (including introductory and epilogue) of the book is the conflict between "old ways" and "new techniques" which leads to a slow process of transformation both at infrastructure (tools, techniques, environment) and superstructure (beliefs, mentalities, customs) level. Irrespective of different historical periods and indigenous or foreign regimes, rural life is defined by preservation of deeply-rooted *ordre des choses* and *savoir-faire*. A Romanian lexical embodiment of this interesting aspect is the word *rânduiala* to which the author dedicates the final pages of the book. It is the essence of the cultural life of the community, of its habitus, the pattern which shapes its identity, and it is forged through expressions of inter- and intra-generational cohesion and conflict.

The elevated and thorough investigation and analysis which Séverine Lagneaux carried out in *Éternel Provisoire* offer an excellent opportunity to the reader in understanding the particularities of rural life in a post-communist Romania.

Participatory Mapping in Latin America / Special issue of the journal *Human Organization*, vol. 62, no. 4, 2003, pp. 303-392

Review by Marin Constantin*

Human Organization, the journal of the Society for Applied Anthropology (Oklahoma City, U.S.A.), dedicated its 2003 fourth issue to the theme of participatory mapping (PM) across some countries from Latin America (Nicaragua, Panama, and Peru). As two of the contributors of this dossier (Peter H. Herlihy and Gregory Knapp) put it, PM is an anthropological approach that, in order to "transform [local people's] cognitive spatial knowledge into maps", practically "[...] combines cartography and ethnography, focusing as much on the technical aspects of the mapmaking process as on the cultural context in which it occurs" (p. 307).

In their introductory text – "Maps of, by, and for the Peoples of Latin America" (pp. 303-314) – Peter H. Herlihy and Gregory Knapp see PM as a "tool of empowerment" in the context of "the state" interest to ignore indigenous population in the remote 'empty quarters' to maintain these areas

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under the designation of 'national lands' for resource exploitation". Through an "array of community-based research and development approaches", PM accounts for both social action and a research strategy generally "holding community meetings, administering questionnaires, recording place names, drawing sketch maps, building diagrams, collecting field data, and plotting cognitive information about place directly onto standard cartographic sheets" (p. 307). It is the PM bottom-up methodology that, by aiming at "the empowerment of communities in their negotiations with the state over the administration and management of their lands", is theoretically meant "to reinforce the cultural politics of place, ethnicity, and identity" (p. 308). As such, PM projects prove their relevance in "helping disadvantaged communities reclaim their heritage and defend their lands" while "promoting resource conservation land tenure security, and local-state relations" (p. 308). The authors point to the PM potential of "questioning the very core of state power and authority – territorial control (p. 310).

With his case-study contribution – "Participatory Research Mapping of Indigenous Lands in Darién, Panama" (pp. 315-331) – Peter H. Herlihy refers to the mapmaking process among native Kuna, Emberá, and Wounaan. Given the problems of recognition by the state authorities of indigenous land rights within the biosphere reserve of the Darién National Park, local community representatives pursued training "to complete land-use assessments using questionnaires and sketch maps [...] while enhancing their ability to manage their own lands" (p. 315-318). As a result, PM (promoted by the project research staff) revealed its role in "developing geographic knowledge", relying on the indigenous "keen sense of the power of maps" (p. 320). The study area was divided into 20 survey zones with local representatives for each zone given their environment knowledge, in collaboration with village leaders. Fieldwork essentially consisted of a series of three workshops meant for (1) training surveyors, (2) transforming field data into cartographic information, and (3) revising and standardizing zonal maps (enlarged to a 1:50,000 scale) taking into account a large public participation (pp. 321-324). The mapping process eventually authenticated indigenous toponymy in Darién (previously replaced with European place names), now on recognized by officials. While the project focus was on research, as "it was not aimed at resolving land issues", the indigenous Kuna, Emberá, and Wounaan were thus allowed "to put themselves on the map in both a cartographic and political sense" (p. 328).

Another article, written by Derek A. Smith – "Participatory Mapping of Community Lands and Hunting Yields among the Buglé of Western Panama" (pp. 332-343) –, describes the involvement of local investigators in "drawing sketch maps to show the locations where game animals were captured". The research context similarly evokes "[...] outsiders [who] continue to impose conservation regulations [claimed to produce a 'rational' use of natural resources] on indigenous lands with little regard for their resident populations" (p. 332). One of Smith's crucial arguments is that, while the indigenous Buglé "are knowledgeable resource managers" thanks to their "strong cartographic heritage" (p. 333). In conditions of a "dominant mapping process led by non-natives for administrative purposes, promoting assimilation" (with replacement of indigenous toponyms or portraying religious sites as tourist attractions), Smith enacted participatory mapping of hunting activity among the Buglé in order "to document spatial patterns of hunting yields in relation to the distribution of anthropogenic and forest habitats and indigenous settlement patterns". With the support of seven local investigators, research approached 700 people belonging to 99 households and five neighboring communities. Fieldwork also included a census on local ethnicity, community mapping sessions, and workshops to transfer toponyms from sketch maps to cartographic sheets, review the completed questionnaires, and evaluate sketch maps and their internal consistency (pp. 336-338). The project documentation resulted into 1,500 questionnaires administrated and over 1,275 game kill sites recorded on topographic sheets and transferred onto 1:50,000 base maps; this information was thus entered into a geographic information system to produce a variety of maps showing the harvest of individual species and the spatial distribution of hunting yields (p. 340).

Anthony Stocks' case study deals with "Mapping Dreams in Nicaragua's Bosawas Reserve", among indigenous Mayangna and Miskitu (pp. 344-356), to discuss how the lack of recognition for the very identity of these natives in the Nicaraguan Constitution puts at risk their "dreams for land

rights". In the context of the Nicaraguan Ministry of Economy's plan to assign commercial logging and mining concessions in the local forested lands, the Mayangna and Miskitu presence within the reserve was "only recognized indirectly", which led to "arbitrary restrictions on their subsistence activities" (p. 348). On this ground, a participatory methodology was developed, with members of local communities trained by anthropologists in such areas as the application of socioeconomic survey, historical cartography, GPS navigation, and data analysis; in such research design, mapping was viewed as "merely one element" in the process for "an institutionalized better management of the reserve" (p. 350). The indigenous communities came to identify six territories based on their common history, ethnicity, geography, and land use; local land contiguity was thus revealed in the centre of reserve; the mapping work consisted of "getting people from neighboring territories to agree on specific points of reference that have in the past been traditionally agreed-upon boundary markers" (p. 352). Indigenous researchers were named by the communities in claim to conduct further mapping, collect local cognitive maps, travel with local hunters and farmers taking GPS readings, etc. As the author makes it clear (pp. 353-354), maps might be regarded "as cultural reservoirs" since they reflect "the people's knowledge of an entire region, to be *their* productions, to validate *their* identities, and *their* land claims"; consequently, the Nicaraguan government recognized the territorial maps as "official", with the indigenous use zones put on the map of the Bosawas International Biosphere Reserve.

Establishing a map-based *Native Communities Information System* (SICNA), as the foundation for future land-use planning in Peru's Rio Galvez Basin area, is the subject matter of the article "Mapping the Past and the Future: Geomatics and Indigenous Territories in the Peruvian Amazon" (co-authored by Richard Chase Smith, Margarita Benavides, Mario Pariona, and Ermeto Tuesta, pp. 357-368). While in late 1960s, local government recognized and entitled more than 10 million hectares to 50 different indigenous peoples in the Peruvian Amazon, traditional resources-use practices (rotation of garden sites, hunting, and gathering) remained limited in small and dense populated areas (p. 358). With confusion in the geo-referencing of the rough land title maps drawn by government surveyors (given their few geographic reference points) and impossibility of registering the 1,145 – 1,495 native communities, SICNA was developed as a network of people and institutions to accumulate, update, and analyze information, thus experimenting with ways to use that information to the natives' benefit (p. 360). With the support of more than 30 indigenous federations in mapping boundaries and gathering information about 750 native and 716 mixed – communities, four types of data were collected as follows: (1) *base map* (hydrographic features on Peruvian Amazon), (2) *community boundary lines* (locating boundary map for each community), (3) *tabular database* for each community (ethnicity, demography, location, local administrative status, housing, education, health, religion, economy...), and (4) *complementary information* (geographic features, biophysical characteristics, usufruct claims, etc.) (p. 361). SICNA maps proved to be technically superior and based on better data than the official maps, while overlapping of indigenous boundaries demonstrates that local different communities use large areas without conflict (p. 364).

Another teamwork – pursued by Edmund T. Gordon, Galio C. Guardián, and Charles R. Hale – takes into account the communal land claims of Garifuna and Afro-Nicaraguan communities on the Atlantic [Caribbean] Coast of Nicaragua ("Rights, Resources, and the Social Memory of Struggle: Reflections on a Study on Indigenous and Black Community Land Rights on Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast", pp. 369-381). As the Nicaraguan government's policy of "modernizing agriculture" was locally felt in conflict with indigenous and Creole's struggle for land and resources, the research participatory approach (*diagnostico*) relied on community members' involvement as a collective process of identifying and justifying community land claims, alongside assessing the research results (p. 370). In the field, the researchers worked as "technical experts" referring to land claims and justification, by working with community representatives (in finding GPS-based landmarks and registering them as "ethnomaps" next computer-generated as 1:50,000 scale base [p. 377], as well as in publicly discussing community boundaries, desisting overlapping claims, ethnographic description of local land use, narrative and graphic recording). During the research process, a number of 128 local communities formulated 29 land claims of which 17 were multicomunity or bloques, while 12 were claimed by individual communities. The native communities understood the *diagnostico* as a

preliminary step in the struggle for legal recognition by the Nicaraguan state; a particular emphasis was given to the “reasoning that the each block was contiguous with the next, leaving no space in between for ‘national lands’” (p. 377). According to the authors of the study, “[...] the participants full understanding that the mapping of their land claims was a unique opportunity that required not a passive rendition of existing boundaries, but rather an audacious and creative process that might allow them, finally, to achieve their due” (p. 378).

The volume is completed by Karl H. Offen’s contribution, “Narrating Place and Identity, or Mapping Miskitu Land Claims in Nordeastern Nicaragua” (pp. 382-392), with the notion of *group identity* coupled with that of *place* in local Miskitu ethnicity – Miskitu geography interrelationship. Within a mapping process supported by the Central American and Caribbean Research Council, with a World Bank funding, the author counts on “the power of the Miskitu language” as a “tongue stepped in cultural-environmental metaphors, nature allegories, and morality parables that are literally and figuratively part of the landscape and constitutive of a Miskitu sense of place” (p. 384). As a matter of fact, spatial representations are recognized to have been “long used” among locals in the efforts “to understand and communicate their place in the world to themselves and others (p. 384). In the context of a “tendency to privilege Nicaraguan sovereignty over its national territory” and a “denigration of indigenous and black peoples and denies them genuine rights to territory as ethnic groups” (p. 386), most of the 128 participating communities chose to distinguish their claims collectively in *bloques* or larger land units, with overlapping community land claims as the “prominent feature” of the resultant draft maps (approved by communities). Miskitu history was referred to establish a basis for historical rights to land, while local toponyms became “mnemonic devices” in order “to demonstrate a historical and legal basis for land possession, ownership, or former habitation (p. 388). Native ancestors’ “footprints” (as invoked with regard to petro-glyphs, humanized plant distributions, hunting trails, and spirit-permeated place) particularly authorized the mapping process “as a vehicle to achieve a genuine recognition of Miskitu land rights”, eventually contributing to an indigenous historical geography that counters conventional wisdom” (p. 390).

I argue that – to an important extent – the *Human Organization* participatory mapping dossier is highly inspiring for research in further geographic areas, including Romania. Indeed, as I tried to depict it elsewhere¹, the Romanian government’s initiative to establish the Danube Delta Biosphere Reserve Authority (1990), theoretically devoted to the official conservation policy of protecting local ecosystems, with the Danube Delta assignment within the UNESCO’s *Man and Biosphere* program (1991) – was to become afterwards seriously provocative for the native Romanian, Lipovan (Russian-speaking), and Ukrainian fishing communities. Recent anthropological reports point out the existence of traditional ownership over fishing areas claimed to belong to particular families in the Danube Delta². Indigenous ownership in the region is defined in terms of rights of “inheritance” and “usufruct” in the demarcation of private fishing “corridors” by local villagers³. As an indirect recognition of such customary norms, the current Romanian legislation in the region admits the right of “preemption” for the native deltaic inhabitants in the cases of concessioning or renting out the

¹ Marin Constantin, “On the Ethnographic Categorization of Biodiversity in the Danube Delta Biosphere Reserve”, *Eastern European Countryside*, Vol. 18, 2012, pp. 49-60; Marin Constantin, “A Fishermen’s Village: On the Lipovan Belongingness to the Danube Delta in Jurilovca (Northern Dobroudja)”, *Sociologie Românească*, Vol. XIII (4), 2015 (in print).

² Sandra Bell, Kate Hampshire, Joy Palmer, Elizabeth Oughton, Andrew Russell, *Integrated Management of European Wetlands: A Project of the European Commission’s Fifth Framework Programme*, Contract # EVK2-CT 2000-22001, the Final Report. Department of Anthropology, University of Durham, United Kingdom, 2004.

³ Daniela Alexandrescu, Ioana Daia, Gabriela Leonida, “Reprezentările și practicile spațiului [Fishermen and Fishing in Sfântu Gheorghe Village: Practices and Institutions]”. In B. Iancu (ed.), *Dobrogea. Identități și crize*, Colecția *Societatea Reală* (5), Bucharest: Paideia Publisher, 2009, pp. 25-37.

fishing areas by the Danube Delta Biosphere Reserve Authority⁴. I hypothesize that, in either narrative, toponymic, or genealogical form, the vernacular accounts in the area could contribute to the reconstruction of the original cartography (and implicitly the indigenous fishing rights) in the Romanian deltaic wetland.

***Anuarul Muzeului Etnografic al Moldovei* [Annuaire du Musée Ethnographique de Moldavie], Iași, Maison d'Édition du Palais de Culture, vol. XV, 2015, 484 pp.**

Compte rendu par Marin Constantin*

Anuarul Muzeului Etnografic al Moldovei est une publication (en langue roumaine) déjà prestigieuse du Complexe Muséal National « Moldova » de Iași, bien que sa date de naissance ne soit plus ancienne que l'année 2000. Initié et coordonné pour un temps malheureusement trop court par un ethnographe que nous l'avons si subitement perdu – Vasile Munteanu (1966-2012) –, *L'Annuaire moldave* est toujours continué grâce au travail remarquable d'une rédaction comptant, en premier lieu le réputé Professeur Ion H. Ciubotaru, et des spécialistes aussi dévoués à leur profession, parmi lesquelles Marcel Lutic, Angelica Olaru et Victor Munteanu.

Dans les passages suivants, nous allons présenter brièvement le contenu du numéro le plus récent de cette revue, à l'attente convaincue des prochaines éditions dont la thématique nous désirerions également fructueuse.

Le volume commence par une seconde partie de la « **restitution** » que le Professeur Ion H. Ciubotaru fait à des contributions ethnographiques de l'éminent folkloriste roumain Petru Caraman (1898-1990), c'est-à-dire *L'Ethnographie Cantemir et le folklore de l'Orient asiatique* (pp. 11-50; sur la première partie à ce sujet, voir Ion H. Ciubotaru, *L'Ethnographie Cantemir et le folklore de l'Orient asiatique*, en *Anuarul Muzeului Etnografic al Moldovei*, vol. XIV, 2014, pp. 15-58). Le texte se réfère à l'ancien rituel du *cortège diffamatoire* (présenté par le chroniqueur humaniste moldave Démétrius Cantemir [1673-1723] sur la vie du sultan Mustafa [1617-1618 ; 1622-1623], et suivi de manière comparative par Petru Caraman chez plusieurs peuples de l'Europe Orientale du Moyen Âge, comme les Byzantins, les Néo-grecques, les Turques et les Roumains).

La première section de *L'Annuaire* de Iași contient une série de six **Études** ethnologiques sur autant d'aspects des traditions populaires roumaines récentes ou contemporaines. C'est ainsi que le texte de Varvara Buzilă (enrichie par ses illustrations du terrain) présente *Le groupe des jeunes hommes et la danse ronde du village. Institutions traditionnelles d'affirmation de la culture socio-normative* (pp. 51-84), en ce qui concerne quelques villages du Sud de Bessarabie et de la Région d'Odessa (en Ukraine). Dans son article *Le contexte de la performativité des conteurs* (pp. 85-116), Oana Valeria Chelaru discute au niveau théorique les coordonnées spatiales et temporelles – de même que les diverses fonctions (apotropaïque, purificatoire, psychologique, éducative, artistique...) – dans la narration de contes populaires, tout en se concentrant sur « la personnalité du conteur » en sa relation avec le public.

Une autre étude portant sur les réalités ethnographiques de la République de Moldavie appartient à Vasile Chiseliță (pp. 117-134): *Le Répertoire vocal traditionnel rural de Bessarabie pendant l'entre deux guerres : dialogue culturel, innovation, modernisation* ; en examinant les

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⁴ Ionuț Balaban, Ana Birta, Georgeta Stoica, Pescari și pescuit în Sfântu Gheorghe: practici și instituții [Fishermen and Fishing in the Village of Sfântu Gheorghe: Practices and Institutions]. In B. Iancu (ed.) *Dobrogea. Identități și crize*, Colecția *Societatea Reală* (5), Bucharest: Paideia Publisher, 2009, pp. 11-24.

prémises historiques, les acteurs et les facteurs de la vie sociale chez les paysans durant la période mentionnée, l'auteur identifie six genres musicaux dans les chansons pour les soldats, les chansons pour les recrues, les nouveaux chansons populaires lyriques, les chansons théâtrales, les romances populaires et les chansons populaires à des arrangements vocaux occidentaux. Alors que Silvia Ciubotaru expose *Les Mythes pluviaux roumains dans le contexte universel* (pp. 135-168), en invoquant des êtres mythologiques comme les dragons, les dieux de la tourmente, des héros liés aux dragons chtoniens et la nymphe des nuages, un autre contributeur – Andrei Prohin – se réfère à *des Motifs bibliques et apocryphes dans les croyances eschatologiques roumains* (pp. 169-186), dans une approche du folklore roumain de la fin du monde avec ses images allégoriques ou prophéties apocalyptiques relevant la responsabilité des humaines et leurs valeurs morales. C'est Ioana Repciuc qui fait compléter ce fascicule d'études avec *L'Identification de la source folklorique du conte Cupidon et Psyché par Petru Caraman – dans le contexte des recherches internationales* (pp. 187-205), grâce à une analyse (généreusement ancrée dans la littérature ethnologique) de la contribution de Petru Caraman d'avoir découvert les sources folkloriques que le novelliste latin Apuleius utilisa pour écrire le conte susmentionné.

« L'Annuaire » de Iași propose ensuite un second dossier – celui des **Matériaux** – contenant plusieurs articles de terrain ou de synthèse bibliographique sur des aspects ethnographiques de Dobroudja, de Moldavie et Bucovine et de Transylvanie. Arcadie M. Bodale réfléchit ainsi sur *Les Paragraffiti d'Europe et leurs significations magico-religieuses* (pp. 207-228), en poursuivant les signes, traces, cavités, marques... incisés ou entaillés à des symboles et intentions variées (commémoration, médication, sourcellerie, etc.) sur les murs des églises et des monastères de Bucovina, en comparaison avec des marques similaires de l'espace chrétien occidental, premièrement français. Dans son texte sur les *Installations techniques traditionnelles de Dobroudja*, Ion Cherciu se concentre sur des anciennes installations paysannes (comme les moulins et les fontaines) de l'espace multiculturel dobroudjan (pp. 229-246).

Quant à Maria Ciocanu, elle dépeint les *Contributions ethnographiques à la connaissance de la viticulture paysanne de Bessarabie*, y compris (parmi d'autres) le patrimoine et l'inventaire viticole local, en bénéficiant d'une ample illustration ethnographique (pp. 247-286), tandis que Marin Constantin engage – à travers le « *Hanklich* » une discussion sur la *Cuisine traditionnelle et [l'] identité culturelle chez la Saxons de Cislădioara – Michelsberg (département de Sibiu)* (pp. 287-296). C'est à Gheorghe Iutiș qu'on doit une présentation *De l'activité de l'ethnologue Tudor Pamfile [1883-1921]. Etape de Iași*, notamment les articles que Tudor Pamfile publia entre 1910-1921 dans les pages de la revue „Viața Românească”, en Iași (pp. 297-310). Une autre contributrice de *L'Annuaire* – Dorina Onica – vise les *Formes ethnoculturelles dans le paysage anthropogéographique rural de Bessarabie*, en tant qu'un excursus autour des villages, des maisonnées, du travail, des voies traditionnelles de transport, des vêtements et de l'alimentation – dans la région (pp. 311-340). Enfin, Sorin Sabău fait reproduire ses *Quelques considérations concernant la foire de la Montagne Găina* en relation avec l'origine de la foire et son nom, le contexte de son organisation et le positionnement des participants durant l'événement (pp. 341-354).

Le volume inclue aussi une rubrique de **Correspondance, documents** (que Ion H. Ciubotaru soutient par un *Dialogue épistolaire: Mihai Pop [1907-2000] – Petru Caraman*, pratiquement une mise en lumière d'un échange inédit de lettres entre les deux ethno-folkloristes roumains, entre 1956-1961 [pp. 355-378]). Deux obituaires signés par Sorin Sabău, Petruța Pop et (respectivement) Ion H. Ciubotaru (pp. 379-393) sont écrits **In memoriam** des regrettés ethnologues roumains Ioan Godea (1943-2014) et Anca Giurchescu (1930-2015). La personnalité de l'ethnologue roumain Ion Chelcea (1902-1991), fondateur du Musée Ethnographique de Moldavie, est également remémorée (par Ana-Maria Rață) dans une chronique de *Récupérations. Restitutions* (pp. 395-422).

De plus, *Anuarul Muzeului Etnografic al Moldovei* fait allouer un large espace à une série de **Comptes rendus, présentations, note bibliographiques** démontrant encore une fois l'ouverture de la publication vers l'actualité de la littérature roumaine de notre discipline (pp. 423-468). En effet, le lecteur ne pourra qu'enregistrer des très utiles annotations sur les ouvrages suivants: Grigore Arsene (éditeur), *Les Contes des Roumains*, Bucarest, Maison d'édition Curtea Veche, 2010, compte rendue

par Andrei Prohin ; Ion Cherciu, *Ornementation traditionnelle roumaine*, vol. I. *Pays de Vrancea*, Timișoara, Maison d'édition Brumar, 2011, compte rendue par Ovidiu Focșă ; Aurel Bodiu, Maria Golban, *Le costume traditionnel roumain de Bistrița-Năsăud*, Cluj-Napoca, Maison d'édition Eikon, 2012, compte rendue par Dimitrie-Ovidiu Boldur ; Ovidiu Bârlea, *Brève encyclopédie des contes roumains*. Seconde édition par Ioana Repciuc, Craiova, Maison d'édition Aius, 2014, compte rendue par Adina Hulubaș ; Ion H. Ciubotaru, *Les coutumes funèbres de Moldavie en contexte national*, Iași, Maison d'édition de L'Université « Alexandru Ioan Cuza », 2014, compte rendue par Marin Constantin ; Ioan Micu Moldovan, *Folklore de Transylvanie (1863-1878)*. vol. I. *Contes, chansons de Noël et balades*. Édition par Ion Cuceu et Maria Cuceu, Cluj-Napoca, Maison d'édition Mega, 2014, compte rendue par Ion H. Ciubotaru ; Silvia Ciubotaru, Ion H. Ciubotaru, *Vitrails. Pages ethnoculturelles de la presse des années 1992-2012*. Textes recueillis par Codrin Ciubotaru et Ionuț Ciubotaru, Iași, Maison d'édition « Presa Bună », 2015, deux comptes rendues par Sanda Golopenția et Adina Hulubaș ; Eliana Popeti, Miliana Radmila Radan-Uscatu, *Sous la grande voie. Places et contes de Banat*, Timișoara, Maison d'édition de L'Université d'Ouest, 2015, compte rendue par Cosmina Timocea-Mocanu.

Egalement définitoire pour la variété des recherches ethnologiques dans les pages du journal en discussion pendant la période des derniers cinq années, c'est la *Bibliographie de l'„Anuarul Muzeului Etnografic al Moldovei”, X-XIV (2010-2014)*, rédigée grâce à l'effort scrupuleux de Angelica Olaru, en comptant non pas moins de 82 **Etudes et matériaux**, à côté des sections déjà notoires des **Restitutions, Correspondance, documents, Anniversaires, Commémorations, In Memoriam, Remember et Comptes rendus, présentations, note bibliographiques** (pp. 469-482).

Par son contenu et l'éventail des thèmes de recherche dont il fait rendre compte, „Anuarul Muzeului Etnografic al Moldovei” sur 2015 reconferme heureusement son statut de publication ethnologique référentielle en Roumanie (et particulièrement pour ce numéro, en Bessarabie). Son apport est (comme l'on a vu ci-dessus) à la fois descriptif et théorique, tout en évoquant des effigies et des repères bibliographiques pérennes de l'histoire roumaine de la discipline. Comme telle, *L'Annuaire moldave* devient – à juste mesure de sa conséquence éditoriale – un témoignage fidèle de l'ethnographie contemporaine de notre pays.

***Anuarul Societății Prahovene de Antropologie Generală [Yearbook of Prahova County Society for General Anthropology]*, Bogdan-Costin Georgescu and Sebastian Ștefănuță (eds.), vol. I (1), Ploiești: Mythos Publisher, 2015, 95 pp.**

Review by Marin Constantin*

As concisely introduced by Dragoș Grigorescu (Foreword, pp. 5-7), *Anuarul Societății Prahovene de Antropologie Generală* is an initiative of Prahova County Society for General Anthropology (with the support of Prahova County Cultural Centre), in order “to host all types of anthropological discourse, from physical to social and cultural anthropology”, through an approach combining the “scientific language strictness” with the “warmth of an open communication with [a potential] readership”. The starting point of the journal (and its initial content resource) is represented by the Summer School of Cultural and Christian Anthropology in Maliuc (Tulcea County), with its working sessions taking place since 1998. The Maliuc “Camp” is briefly presented (by Bogdan-Costin Georgescu and Sebastian Ștefănuță) in the journal's first article (“Tabăra de vară de antropologie cultural creștină de la Maliuc, în paginile unei reviste de antropologie generală [The Maliuc Summer School of Cultural and Christian Anthropology in the pages of a general anthropology publication]”, pp. 9-15).

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The further contribution deals with the participant field experience in cultural anthropology, especially upholding the “co-authorship” of scientific articles by anthropologists and their informants (Sebastian Ștefănuță, “Nativul și cercetătorul. Câteva considerații asupra co-participării științifice [The Native and the Researcher. Some Considerations on the Scientific Co-Participation]”, pp. 16-24). Dwelling on linguistic, historical, and anthropological data, another text of the journal is concerned with the issue of ethnic self-identification among Roma people in Romania and Southeastern Europe, as particularly refers to the usage of the *Țigan* (*Gypsy*) exonym in contrast to the endonymic traditions of *Rom* / *Dom* (Marian Nuțu Cărpaci, “Între un exonim și un autonim, sau o suprapunere mediavală [Between an Exonym and an Autonym. On a Middle-Age Overlapping] pp. 25-42). Bogdan-Costin Georgescu is the author of a study about the therapeutic and sacred character of the *Căluș* dance in Oltenia area, in comparison with the carnivalesque traits of the *Morris Dance* from England and Wales, some of which possibly accounting for ancient “intersection” between Celtic and Thracian civilizations (“Valoarea taumaturgică a ritualului din dansul călușarilor. Ritm, vibrație și rezonanță prin integrare cosmic [On the Thaumaturgy Value of Ritual in the *Căluș* Dance. Rhythm, Vibration, and Resonance through Cosmic Integration]”, pp. 43-56). Christian Crăciun’s article is a plea for the rhythmical foundations of music (in cosmic and human existence), as well as for the “spiritual state” of music insufflates to poetry (“Muzica și creația ritmică a lumii [Music and the Rhythmic Creation of the World]”, pp. 57-66). An historical excursus of the coins along of ancient, medieval, and modern periods (signed by Petru Dincă) is a discussion on the various criteria of world’s numismatic valuation (ancientness, raw material, rarity, beauty, state of preservation, etc.), completed by a reproduction of the author’s collection (including Greek, Roman, and also Polish, American, Austro-Hungarian, and Romanian samples) (“Evoluția monedelor lumii din perspectivă antropologică. Prezentare și expoziție de monede [The Evolution of World’s Coins from an Anthropological Perspective. Presentation and Exhibition]”, pp. 67-78). “Din muzica pontilor [On the Music of Greek *Pontians*]” – the journal’s last article, written by Sebastian Ștefănuță, pp. 79-94) – attempts “to get readers familiarized” with the music and dance of the abovementioned Greek-speaking group, based on (Athenian) television recordings, in dialogue with contemporary Greek music players.

Like probably most of similarly beginning periodicals, *Anuarul Societății Prahovene de Antropologie Generală* is at the same time promising and perfectible. While the Maliuc School of Cultural and Christian Anthropology, with its enthusiasm and germinative role for the *general anthropology* program of the Prahova County Society, is greatly praiseworthy for popularizing anthropology outside the main academic centres in Romania (but with full recognition of them), the notion of “general anthropology” itself is to be made more explicit to the journal’s audience. Again, just due to the attractive content of the currently printed materials, the readers need to hear more about the professional background and areas of anthropological interest of the yearbook’s contributors. (This, of course, together with the effort of publicizing bilingual texts, in Romanian and West-European languages, could count for the journal’s future contacts and exchange of ideas, in Romania and abroad). We wish *Anuarul Societății Prahovene de Antropologie Generală* constancy and a rich productivity in its next issues.



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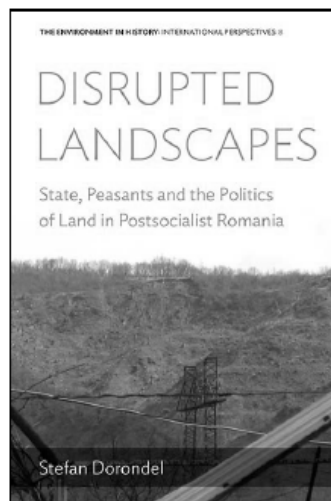
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